

# ANNALS OF THE WARS

OF THE

EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

— —

VOLUME I. 1700—1739.

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# ANNALS OF THE WARS

OF THE

EIGHTEENTH CENTURY,

From the most Authentic Histories of  
the Period.

HON SIR EDWARD CUST, D C L

LIEUTENANT GENERAL IN THE BRITISH ARMY  
AND COLONEL OF THE SIXTH REGIMENT OF LANCERS

' By reading, you will be distinguished without your abilities will  
be of little use

GENERAL SIR CHARLES NAHER'S *Advice to a Young Officer*

THIRD EDITION

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LONDON

JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET.

1862

**"The worn-out soldier, kindly bade to stay,  
Sits by the fire and talks the night away,  
Grieves o'er the wounds, and tales of sorrow done,  
Shoulders his crutch and shows how fields were won."**  
GOLDSMITH.

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TO HIS MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY

LEOPOLD I.

KING OF THE BELGIANS, &c. &c.

FIELD MARSHAL IN THE BRITISH ARMY, AND

KNIGHT OF THE MILITARY ORDERS OF

AUSTRIA,

FRANCE,

GREAT BRITAIN,

PRUSSIA,

RUSSIA,

&c. &c.

This Work,

COMMEMORATING THE MILITARY PROWESS OF ALL THESE NATIONS,

Is inscribed,

WITH THE MOST PROFOUND RESPECT AND

GRATEFUL ATTACHMENT,



## PREFACE.

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THIS Work aspires to be regarded only as a summary of facts and events that have been already recorded by others—a compilation from various sources, of things proper to be known by all who have the honour to wear their Sovereign's uniform. It has not been written for the library of the learned, but for the use of officers, whether on shipboard or in barracks; to occupy the leisure of the night-watch and the guard; to enter into the conversation of the quarter-deck or the march, of the ward-room or the mess-room. The Author does not presume to call himself an historian, but he thinks he may, without presumption, write for brother-officers what he thinks brother-officers require—a history of wars, irrespective of their causes and consequences. In his own career he would have been glad to have met with a book of the kind; and he hopes, therefore, that the rising generation will accept it as the legacy of an old soldier, whose destiny it has not been to do all that he would have desired to do in his profession.

He commenced his military career with as much zeal as any man. He entered the army as early as he could—the day he was sixteen. He was already on active service, and before the enemy when that anniversary returned. He remained in the field till the peace. He then went to the senior, as he had already been to the junior, department of the Military College. What more has he to relate than belongs to all his generation? He did not become a general officer until he was threescore years of age; and on the breaking out of the Crimean war the same year,

army, whose career has commenced, but whose profession has to be learned; and no man should be permitted to ascend the ladder of promotion very high, without affording some test that he has really learned something of his profession in his regimental life, and has read enough to know at least as much as these "Annals" will supply. The Author will, however, honestly and candidly express his opinion (for as much as it is worth) that, in the desire to force instruction into the military service, war should not be regarded *too much* as a matter of science. We must not have officers who are merely military pedants. No officer more steadfastly adhered to that opinion than the greatest military authority of our time. The wars of this period do not justify a contrary opinion, for they do not evince much rule in the combination of their military movements. Neither Marlborough nor Frederick ordinarily troubled themselves even with the simple rule of maintaining a base of operations. Certainly, the former could have had none when he marched to Blenheim; nor when he turned, face about, to fight the battle of Oudenarde. As to Frederick, he was without doubt a consummate tactician, but his marchings and countermarchings do not seem to be trammelled by any principles of strategy. It would, at the same time, be insane in any officer to suppose that there is no art or science in war, and foolish to disparage its theory; but in practice, where so much must be done on the spur of the moment, all rules<sup>1</sup> to be available should be few, short, and of ready application.<sup>2</sup> The three great requisites for a General are, after all,

<sup>1</sup> Marshal Saxe gives a golden rule, which should be in every officer's manual: "No troops should ever attack without having troops in support."

<sup>2</sup> The author had the advantage, on one occasion, of hearing the Duke of Wellington talk on this subject. He was asked his opinion on the new measure of the marching step, propounded by the then adjutant-general, Sir Henry Torrens, and his Grace replied: "I don't know much of these things, for I never gave my mind to them. I have a few short rules that I find sufficient for my purpose; for instance, I know that every man occupies two feet of front; therefore, as the soldiers are in two ranks, each man may be said to occupy one foot of ground; therefore, 5000 men occupy a mile in length; and, consequently, it will require the same time that a man can march a mile to bring up the rear of a column of 5000 men as the point from which the head has started."

the very ordinary natural qualities of forecast, vigilance, and activity, with daring and discipline; but these should be improved by study and service. On forecast depends, not only the plan of a campaign, but all its probable consequences and effects on the future—the preparation of supplies of all kinds and their transport, the calculations on which troops are to be brought into the line, &c.; on vigilance, the proper establishment of outposts, which are the eyes of an army, and of spies and informers, which are its ears—and generally a quick and ready observation of everything; while on the activity and presence of the General almost all success depends. Of the first of these desiderata, Wellington<sup>3</sup> may be regarded as the greatest example; of the second, Marlborough, Villars, and Daun; and of the third, Lord Torrington, and Frederick of Prussia: while the brightest examples of intuitive genius in war are unquestionably Napoleon, Clive, and Nelson.<sup>4</sup>

But these pages do not aspire to be critical on the acts of the mighty men recorded in them. Those officers who are desirous of such reading, and of studying the art of war in its higher branches, are referred to the list of the many volumes from which these “Annals” have been compiled.

In order to ensure correctness in the names of persons and places, and to be saved from any flagrant errors of historical fact, the Author has availed himself of the obliging assistance of George Bullen, Esq., of the British Museum, to whom he is greatly indebted for kindly correcting the press with much exactness and attention.

<sup>3</sup> Witness his despatches *passim*, particularly his Indian ones; his campaigns of 1813-14, and more especially the construction of his famous Lines of Lisbon, the NE PLUS ULTRA OF NAPOLEON. (See “Annals,” 1711.)

<sup>4</sup> Charles XII. is an example of activity without forecast; Vendôme and Königsegg, of vigilance without activity; and Villeroy, of a fine dashing soldier and good military administrator without any genius for war.



# CONTENTS.

	PAGE
1700.	
1. Peace throughout the World . . . .	1
2. A British Fleet sent to the Baltic . . . .	2
3. War between Denmark and Sweden . . . .	ib.
4. War between Sweden, Poland, and Russia . . . .	3
5. Battle of Narva . . . .	ib.
6. Death of Charles II. of Spain. Louis XIV. of France seizes the Spanish Netherlands . . . .	5

1701.	
1. War between the Grand Alliance and Louis XIV. . . .	ib.
2. War in Italy between the Imperialists, and French . . . .	6
3. War in Scandinavia . . . .	7
4. Naval War . . . .	8
5. Death of James II. of England, and his Military Character . . . .	ib.

1702.	
1. Death of William III. of England, and his Military Character . . . .	9
2. War in Italy . . . .	10
3. Battle of Luzzara . . . .	11
4. The Earl of Marlborough named Generalissimo of the Allies . . . .	12
5. Siege of Kaiserswerth . . . .	ib.
6. The Duke of Burgundy and Marshal de Boufflers take the field . . . .	13

	PAGE
7. Marlborough takes the field . . . .	13
8. Siege of Venloo . . . .	15
9. Siege of Liège . . . .	ib.
10. Battle of Friedlingen . . . .	16
11. Marlborough narrowly escapes being Prisoner . . . .	17
12. British Naval Expedition to Cadiz and Vigo . . . .	18
13. Naval War in the West Indies . . . .	19
14. Battle of Clissau . . . .	20
15. War in Russia . . . .	21

1703.	
1. Defection of the Duke of Savoy from France . . . .	ib.
2. War on the Rhine . . . .	22
3. Siege of Bonn, by Marlborough . . . .	ib.
4. Marshal de Villeroy commands the French Forces on the Rhine . . . .	23
5. War in Germany. Battle of Höchstädt. (Villars and Styrum) . . . .	ib.
6. General Öpdam routed by Marshal Boufflers . . . .	24
7. Marlborough takes Huy and Limburg . . . .	25
8. Marshal Villars replaced by the Duke of Burgundy . . . .	26
9. Battle of Spirebach . . . .	ib.
10. War in Italy . . . .	27
11. War in Scandinavia . . . .	ib.
12. Naval War . . . .	28

1704.	
1. The Archduke Charles proclaimed King of Spain . . . .	29
2. War in Germany . . . .	30

	PAGE		PAGE
3. Marlborough takes the field	30	8. Lord Galway takes Alcantara and Ciudad Rodrigo	68
4. He advances into the Empire	31	9. King Philip quits and King Charles enters Madrid	ib.
5. The Marshals Villeroy and Tallard follow him	32	10. Peterborough in disgust leaves Spain	69
6. Battle of Donauworth or the Schellenberg. Marlborough defeats the Elector	33	11. King Charles goes back to Valencia	ib.
7. The Aimées of Marshals Villeroy and Tallard separate	36	12. Naval War	ib.
8. Prince Eugene joins Marlborough	ib.	13. War in Scandinavia	70
9. Battle of Blenheim, or Blindheim	37	1707.	
10. Consequences of the Victory	43	1. War in the Low Countries	72
11. War in Flanders	45	2. War in Germany	73
12. War in Italy	46	3. War in Spain	ib.
13. Revolt in Hungary	ib.	4. Battle of Almanza	74
14. War in Scandinavia	ib.	5. Consequences of the Victory	76
15. War in Spain	ib.	6. The Duke of Savoy and Prince Eugene enter France	77
16. Admiral Sir George Rooke captures Gibraltar	47	7. The Austrians, under Count Daun, conquer Naples	78
17. Naval Battle off Malaga	49	8. Sir Cloudesly Shovel wrecked off Scilly—his Character	79
1705.		9. French Naval War	ib.
1. War in the Low Countries	51	10. War in Scandinavia	80
2. Marlborough forces the French Lines of De Villeroy	52	11. Death and Character of Marshal de Vauban	81
3. Marlborough offers Battle near Waterloo	53	1708.	
4. War in Italy	54	1. War in the Netherlands	ib.
5. War in Spain	ib.	2. Battle of Oudenarde	84
6. The Earl of Peterborough takes Barcelona	55	3. Consequences of the Victory	88
7. Catalonia and Valencia declare for King Charles	56	4. The Siege of Lille. (Marlborough and Eugene against Boufflers, Vendôme, and Berwick)	ib.
8. War in Hungary	57	5. Marlborough recovers Gibraltar	91
9. War in Scandinavia	ib.	6. War in Italy	92
10. Naval War	58	7. War in Spain. Capture of Minorca	93
1706.		8. Naval War	94
1. War in Italy. Battle of Calcinato. Siege of Turin	ib.	9. War between Charles XII. and Peter I.	ib.
2. War in the Low Countries	59	10. Death and Military Character of Marshal Overkirk	97
3. Battle of Ramillies. (Marlborough and De Villeroy)	60	1709.	
4. Consequences of the Victory	63	1. France makes proposals for Peace, which fail	ib.
5. War in Italy	65	2. War in the Low Countries	98
6. Battle of the Stura. Turin relieved	66	3. Siege of Tournay	99
7. War in Spain	67	4. Marlborough invests Mons	100



	PAGE
5. Battle of Malplaquet . . .	101
6. Mons besieged and taken . .	106
7. War on the Rhine . . .	107
8. War in Italy . . .	ib.
9. War in Spain . . .	ib.
10. Battle of Pultowa . . .	108

### 1710.

1. Fresh Negotiations which again fail . . .	110
2. War in the Netherlands. Siege and Capture of Douay . . .	111
3. War in Italy . . .	114
4. War in Spain . . .	ib.
5. Battle of Saragossa . . .	115
King Charles enters Madrid	116
General Stanhope and his Army surrender at Brihuega . . .	117
6. Battle of Villaviciosa . . .	118
7. Naval War . . .	119

### 1711.

1. Death of the Emperor Joseph . . .	120
2. War in the Netherlands . .	ib.
3. Marlborough forces the Lines of Bouchain against Villars . . .	122
4. Bouchain invested and taken . . .	125
5. The Duke of Marlborough recalled . . .	126
6. War in Spain . . .	127
7. War in Italy . . .	ib.
8. War between the Czar and the Porte . . .	ib.
9. British Expedition to North America . . .	128
10. Naval War . . .	129

### 1712.

1. Prince Eugene arrives in England . . .	ib.
2. Negotiations . . .	130
3. War in the Netherlands . .	ib.
4. British Army quit the Allied Camp . . .	132
5. Prince Eugene surprised at Denain . . .	133
6. Allies surprise Fort Knoque .	135
7. War in the Peninsula. British troops quit Spain	ib.

	PAGE
8. War ends in Piedmont . . .	136
9. War in the North. Eccentric conduct of Charles XII. at Bender . . .	ib.
10. Death and Military Characters of Marshals de Catinat and de Vendôme . .	137

### 1713.

1. The Peace of Utrecht and Alt-Ranstädt . . .	138
2. War between the Turks and Venetians . . .	139
3. War in Spain . . .	ib.

### 1714.

1. Death of Queen Anne of England . . .	ib.
2. Charles XII. returns to his Kingdom. Defeat of the Swedish fleet . . .	140
3. Siege, bombardment, and capture of Barcelona . .	ib.
4. War between the Turks and Venetians . . .	141

### 1715.

1. War in Sweden . . .	142
2. Siege of Stralsund . . .	ib.
3. Capture of Stralsund. Charles XII. escapes . .	144
4. A British fleet sent to the Baltic . . .	ib.
5. The Czar Peter invades the Danish territories . . .	145
6. War between the Swedes and Prussians . . .	ib.
7. War between the Turks and Venetians . . .	146
8. Insurrection in Scotland .	ib.
9. Death and Military Character of Louis XIV., King of France . . .	147

### 1716.

1. Turkish and Venetian Naval Fight at Corfu . .	148
2. War between the Emperor and the Porte. Battle of Peterwaradin . . .	ib.
3. War in the North. The affair of the Swedish Counts Görtz and Gyllenborg . .	150

	PAGE		PAGE
1717.		2. Fighting at Palermo stopped by the news of Peace .	172
1. Siege of Corfu by the Turks .	152	3. King of Spain at War with the Moors in Africa .	173
2. Siege and Battle of Bel- grade. (Prince Eugene and the Grand Vizier) .	153	4. War in Scandinavia .	174
3. Spain seizes the Island of Sardinia .	154	1721.	
1718.		1. Peace signed with Spain .	175
1. The Quadruple Alliance .	155	2. Peace between the Scandi- navian Powers .	ib.
2. Great Britain and Spain prepare hostile Arma- ments .	ib.	3. Promotion and Military Character of Byng, Lord Torrington .	ib.
3. Admiral Byng enters the Mediterranean .	156	4. Death and Military Charac- ter of John, Duke of Malborough .	178
4. Naval Battle off Passaro. (Byng and Castañeta) .	157	5. Military Characters of the French Marshals de Bou- fflers and de Villeroy .	181
5. Messina taken by the Spaniards .	158	6. Death and Military Charac- ter of General Lord Stanhope .	182
6. War in the North .	159	1725.	
7. Death and Military Charac- ter of Charles XII. of Sweden .	ib.	1. Revival of the Order of the Bath in England .	183
1719.		2. Death and Military Charac- ter of Peter I. of Russia .	ib.
1. War declared between Great Britain and Spain .	161	3. Treaties of Vienna and Hanover .	185
2. Spain sends an Armament against Great Britain, which is wrecked .	ib.	1726.	
3. A portion reaches Scotland, and is defeated at Glen- shield .	ib.	1. Preparations for War .	186
4. A British Fleet under Sir John Norris sent to the Baltic .	162	2. Three British Fleets are despatched from England .	187
5. France enters into the War with Spain .	ib.	3. Great Britain and France collect their forces .	ib.
6. British Expedition against Spain .	163	1727.	
7. War in Sicily. Blockade of Melazzo raised .	ib.	1. Spaniards lay Siege to Gibraltar .	188
8. Battle of Franco Villa (De Lede against De Mercy) .	165	2. Alarm of War in Holland .	ib.
9. Messina besieged and taken .	168	3. Treaty signed at Paris .	189
10. Spaniards propose to quit Sicily .	170	4. Death of George I. of Great Britain .	ib.
11. Conclusion of the War with Spain .	171	1728.	
1720.		1. Pacific Proceedings .	ib.
1. War continues in Sicily .	ib.	2. French Naval Expedition to Tripoli .	190
		1729.	
		1. The Treaty of Seville .	ib.

- |   |      |
|---|------|
|   | PAGE |
| 2. Death and Character of<br>Menschikoff, Generalis-<br>simo of the Russian<br>Armies . . . . | 191  |

### 1731.

- |  |     |
|--|-----|
| 1. Death of the Duke of Parma                    | 192 |
| 2. Abdication of the King of<br>Sardinia . . . . | ib. |
| 3. War in Persia . . . .                         | ib. |

### 1733.

- |   |     |
|---|-----|
| 1. Death of Augustus II.,<br>King of Poland . . . .                                 | 193 |
| 2. Stanislaus repairs to War-<br>saw and is elected King                            | 194 |
| 3. The Russian Army enters<br>Poland. Stanislaus takes<br>refuge in Dantzic . . . . | ib. |
| 4. The Elector of Saxony<br>elected King at Cracow                                  | ib. |
| 5. A Russian Army besieges<br>Dantzic . . . .                                       | 195 |
| 6. France declares for Stanis-<br>laus . . . .                                      | ib. |
| 7. France sends Armies into<br>Italy and Germany . . . .                            | ib. |
| 8. Spain sends an Army into<br>Italy . . . .  | 196 |

### 1734.

- |   |     |
|---|-----|
| 1. Dantzic surrenders and<br>Stanislaus escapes . . . .                           | ib. |
| 2. War on the Rhine . . . .   | 197 |
| 3. Duke de Berwick killed at<br>Philippsburg. His Mil-<br>itary Character . . . . | ib. |
| 4. War on the Rhine con-<br>tinued . . . .  | 198 |
| 5. War in Italy . . . .   | 199 |
| 6. Death and Military Charac-<br>ter of Marshal Villars . . . .                   | 201 |
| 7. Battle of Parma . . . .  | 202 |
| 8. Death and Military Charac-<br>ter of Count de Mercy . . . .                    | ib. |
| 9. Battle of Guastalla . . . .  | 203 |
| 10. War in Persia . . . .   | 204 |

### 1735.

- |   |     |
|---|-----|
| 1. Misunderstanding between<br>Spain and Portugal. A<br>British Fleet sent to<br>Lisbon . . . . | ib. |
|---|-----|

- |  |      |
|--|------|
|  | PAGE |
| 2. War in Poland . . . .   | 205  |
| 3. War in Italy . . . .  | ib.  |
| 4. Peace between France and<br>Germany, in which all<br>Europe concurs . . . . | ib.  |
| 5. Death and Military Charac-<br>ter of the Earl of Peter-<br>borough . . . .  | 206  |
| 6. Military Character of the<br>Spanish General De<br>Lede . . . .             | 207  |

### 1736.

- |   |     |
|---|-----|
| 1. Death and Military Charac-<br>ter of Prince Eugene . . . .             | 208 |
| 2. Death and Military Charac-<br>ter of Admiral Duguay-<br>Trouin . . . . | 209 |
| 3. War between Russia and<br>Turkey . . . .                               | 210 |
| 4. Siege of Azoph . . . .   | 211 |
| 5. Encounter of Cavalry on<br>the Steppes . . . .                         | ib. |
| 6. Lines of Perekop forced . . . .  | 212 |
| 7. Azoph surrenders . . . .   | ib. |
| 8. War in the Kuban . . . .   | 213 |

### 1737.

- |   |     |
|---|-----|
| 1. Russian Siege of Ockzakow  | 214 |
| 2. Marshal Lacy enters the<br>Crimea by Arabat . . . .                | ib. |
| 3. Russians again quit the<br>Crimea . . . .                          | 215 |
| 4. Turks besiege Ockzakow . . . .                                     | ib. |
| 5. Russian and Turkish Naval<br>Action in the Sea of<br>Azoph . . . . | ib. |
| 6. The Emperor enters into<br>the War against the<br>Turks . . . .    | 216 |
| 7. Military Character of Mar-<br>shal Stahremberg . . . .             | ib. |
| 8. Marshal Seckendorf in com-<br>mand of the Austrians . . . .        | 217 |
| 9. Imperialists are worsted.<br>Seckendorf disgraced . . . .          | 219 |

### 1738.

- |   |     |
|---|-----|
| 1. The War in the Ukraine . . . .           | ib. |
| 2. Lacy again invades the<br>Crimea . . . . | 220 |

	PAGE
3. War between the Emperor and the Turks. König- segg disgraced. Death of Rakoczi . . . . .	220
4. Dispute between Denmark and Hanover . . . . .	221
1739.	
1. The Imperial Army placed under the command of Count Wallis . . . . .	222
2. Battle of Crotka . . . . .	ib.
3. The Turks invest Belgrade	223
4. The Emperor and Sultan conclude a Peace . . . . .	223
5. War between the Russians and Turks . . . . .	225
6. Battle of Choczim . . . . .	226
7. Russia and the Porte make Peace . . . . .	227
8. Nadir Shah in India. Bat- tle of Karnal . . . . .	228
9. Military Power of the Nations of Europe . . . . .	229
10. Convention of the Pardo between Great Britain and Spain . . . . .	230

# THE WARS

OF

## THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

---

1700.

1. A PEACE THROUGHOUT THE WORLD.—2. A BRITISH FLEET SENT TO THE BALTIC.—3. WAR BETWEEN DENMARK AND SWEDEN.—TREATY AT TRAVENDAHL.—4. WAR BETWEEN SWEDEN, POLAND, AND RUSSIA.—5. THE BATTLE OF NARVA.—6 DEATH OF CHARLES II., KING OF SPAIN. LOUIS XIV. OF FRANCE SEIZES THE SPANISH NETHERLANDS.

### 1. A GENERAL PEACE THROUGHOUT THE WORLD.

On the 1st of January, 1700, the gates of the temple of Janus might have been closed. Peace reigned throughout the civilized world. The treaty of Ryswick, concluded in 1697, had established harmony between France, Great Britain, the German Empire, Holland, Italy, and Spain. Germany had come to terms with Turkey by the treaty of Carlovitz; and a truce for thirty years had been concluded between the Sublime Porte and the Czar of Russia. In the west of Asia Aurungzebe reigned without a rival in India, and Kang-he governed in peace the vast Tartar regions. In military reputation, France was recognized as the leading power, and Louis XIV. was in the zenith of his glory. Great Britain, having secured her civil liberties, had reappeared upon the battle-fields of Europe, under her constitutional king, William III., who was acknowledged to be one of the first generals of the age. As Stadtholder of Holland, he had exalted himself to a high influence in Europe before he obtained the crown of Britain. But his British soldiers had displayed their ancient prowess at Steinkirk, Landen, and Namur,—names which will live for ever in the bloodless campaigns of Uncle Toby and Corporal Trim. Russia may be said to have entered the family of nations

VOL. I.

B

on this very first of January, when the Czar Peter I. having just returned from the workshops of Holland and England, established the European calendar of time. Her envoys had already penetrated to the Western courts, and opened negotiations with them ; but till this period she had been considered more Asiatic than European.

## 2. A BRITISH FLEET SENT TO THE BALTIC.

So strong was the feeling and expectation of peace, that the British Parliament called upon their sovereign to reduce his standing army at the beginning of this year to 7000 men, and the sea forces to 8000. Nevertheless, in the month of May a fleet consisting of thirty sail, English and Dutch, was placed under the command of Vice-Admiral Sir George Rooke, and despatched to the Baltic. A confederacy had been entered into between the Northern powers to oppress and annihilate the young King of Sweden, and Charles XII. had appealed to the sovereigns who were bound by treaty to assist him, alleging that without any just cause the Czar and the King of Poland had made war upon him.

## 3. WAR BETWEEN DENMARK AND SWEDEN.

Without any public declaration of war, 40,000 Saxons, under General Fleming, suddenly sat down before Riga, on March 12, and summoned the Count Von Dahlberg, who commanded in the place for the King of Sweden. Dahlberg replied that he was prepared to defend it. As soon as Charles XII. heard of this transaction, he appealed, as has been already stated, to the protecting powers, and on the 13th of April he issued a proclamation to his subjects calling on them to stand to their allegiance to him. He next equipped a fleet of forty-two sail, manned with 14,000 men, to unite with Sir George Rooke's force ; and also despatched 25 000 or 30,000 men under General Persson to the succour of Riga. The Danes, at this time, kept the sea with a power much superior to the Swedes, and at first they thought to endeavour to hinder the junction of the confederate squadrons : but as it was their whole strength, they dared not risk losing it, and accordingly withdrew it into the port of Copenhagen. On the 20th of July, Sir George Rooke arrived before that capital, and immediately bombarded the fleet under the castle. The young king witnessed this, his first feat of arms, from the deck of the great Swedish ship, "The Royal Charles," said to have been the largest vessel of war that had till then been built, and carrying 120 guns. But it did not suit the temperament of Charles XII. to be an idle spectator of war—burning to flesh his maiden sword, he made a descent with some of the crew on the isle of Zealand, and, with characteristic impatience, he is said to have jumped out of the shallop that took him towards the shore, up to his middle in the water, and placing himself, sword in hand, at the head of his men, would have marched forthwith on Copenhagen. But Sir George showed himself, on this occasion, to be as good a politician as he was a warrior. He displayed the greatest firmness in enforcing the resolution of his sovereign

to procure an equitable peace for Sweden ; but he would not permit the young and impetuous monarch to make use of the power he had brought to his aid towards his own aggrandizement ; and on the 18th of August he presented a treaty, which he made both Danes and Swedes accept at Travendahl.

#### 4 WAR BETWEEN SWEDEN, POLAND, AND RUSSIA.

From Copenhagen, therefore, the King of Sweden hastened to Riga, but he found that the King of Poland had already raised the siege. This sovereign had come in person, on the 4th of July, and sat down before it, but, in defence to the King of England, he now drew off his forces and marched them away. He was, however, no party to the treaty of Travendahl, but resolved to unite with the Czar Peter, who now openly declared war against Sweden. In the month of October this monarch advanced to besiege Narva, with an army of 70,000 foot, 25,000 horse, and an immense train of artillery. The young king placed himself at the head of his whole army, consisting of but 16,000 foot and 1000 horse, which he transported by water, in 200 vessels, and landed at Pernau. Thence, on the 15th of November, he pushed forward to Revel. He instantly placed himself at the head of his cavalry and some 1000 infantry, and marched in search of his enemy. He soon came up with an advanced guard of about 5000 Russians, strongly posted amidst the rocks of a defile, supported by a corps of 20,000 men behind it. This advanced guard no sooner saw the Swedes than it turned about and fled, carrying disorder into the main body.

Delighted at his first success, Charles determined to attack the 24,000 Russians before him, with all their cannon, without waiting for his troops to come up to him. Some of his veterans remonstrated with him on the risk of such a proceeding, but he replied, with coolness and with greater judgment than usually marked his character, ' Surely I have two advantages over the enemy ; one, that my troops are superior, and the other, that the position they occupy is too narrow for their numbers '.

The king, after resting his army a short time, prepared to give battle, but first ordered public prayers to be offered up by the whole of the troops. He then formed them in review order, and thus addressed them, " Behave yourselves like brave men, and be not daunted with the great body of the enemy ; be convinced that God, the protector of right, will not fail to strengthen us, provided we do our duty and confide in Him. I desire no more from you than what I will do myself. I will show you the example ; you have only to follow it " This short exhortation had all the effect the king desired. The soldiers cried out together, " We are ready to live and die with you "

#### 5. THE BATTLE OF NARVA.

It was near midday on the 30th of November when the King of Sweden advanced upon the Russian intrenched camp with the troops and guns that had been brought up. A furious snow-storm

blew right in the enemy's face, which so blinded them, that they thought the Swedish artillery, which only consisted of ten guns, admirably placed and well served, was more numerous than it was. The Czar had the advantages of the services of the Duke de Croi, a Frenchman, Generals Allard, Weide, and other German officers of distinction, by whose advice and judgment he had posted his troops ; but he himself was at the moment gone back to bring up the remainder of his army. In the mean time the Russian intrenchments were breached, and the Swedes, headed by their intrepid king, poured in through them. For an hour and a half the Muscovite soldiers stood firm ; but they then turned and fled. Charles, at the head of the 4000 or 5000 men he had with him, pursued the whole Russian host as far as the bridge across the river. He was always in the van, one horse had been shot under him, and he received a spent ball in the neck, which rested in the folds of his cravat. The bridge broke under the flying fugitives, and thousands were drowned. All order was at an end, and General Dolgoruki refused to receive orders from the Duke de Croi and the foreign generals. The consequence was that almost all of them delivered up their swords. The young conqueror of eighteen years of age received them with a courtesy and politeness that would have become a sovereign of maturer years. He returned their swords to the Duke de Croi and the superior officers, and ordered them money for their immediate expenses. The inferior officers and soldiers, he, more generously than wisely, set free to rejoin their companions, after depriving them of their arms ; so that they immediately rejoined the Czar's army. Night now approached ; but the king found that there was still a considerable body of men who maintained their position on one flank of the camp. He immediately seized the Russian artillery he had captured, and placed them in position to dislodge this force at break of day ; whilst in the meanwhile he wrapped himself in his cloak, and lay down to sleep. But at two in the morning, General Vede, who commanded this corps of the enemy, sent in to solicit his Majesty to accept his submission ; and whilst it was yet dark, these troops, many thousands in number, defiled before the king, laying down their arms and their colours, and passing across the river. If these might be called prisoners, they were four times more numerous than the conquering army, whose whole loss in the battle did not exceed 1200 men, whilst of the Russians those who were killed and drowned were estimated at 6000 men. The consequences of this victory to the King of Sweden were immense. He had advanced without any regard to supplies ; now magazines, vessels of transport full of provisions, and a large extent of country from whence to draw further supplies, were obtained for his army, together with an immense amount of arms and ammunition, whilst he had at once obtained for himself the prestige and the reputation of a first-rate general. The Czar, hastening up with his reinforcements, learned midway the result of the battle, but he felt it would be unwise with his inexperienced troops, however numerous, to attempt to recover his ground against an army better disciplined than his own,



and flushed with victory. He was nevertheless unshaken under this adversity. "I knew very well," said he, "that these Swedes would beat me at first; but we shall in the end learn to conquer them."

#### 6. DEATH OF CHARLES II., KING OF SPAIN. LOUIS XIV. SEIZES THE SPANISH NETHERLANDS.

On the 11th of February, this year, a treaty called "The Second Partition Treaty," had been signed in London, by which the French king had renounced the succession to the Spanish crown for his children, in favour of the Archduke Charles, second son of the Emperor Leopold. On the 1st of November the last Spanish king of the Austrian line expired at Madrid. By his last will he declared the Duke d'Anjou, grandson to Louis XIV., sole heir of his monarchy. The French king did not hesitate to accept the will notwithstanding the treaty. He was already fully aware of its provisions, and had adopted the necessary steps to take advantage of it; so that on the 4th of December the new king, Philip, set out for Spain to assume the government.

Under the treaty of Ryswick a great part of the Dutch army, amounting to twenty-two battalions, had been posted in garrison in the Spanish Netherlands. Besides other places, they occupied Luxembourg, Namur, and Mons. The Duke of Bavaria was governor of the Netherlands for the King of Spain. Louis XIV. had won the Duke over to his cause, and had arranged with him that French troops should arrive, all on the same night, at the gates of each of these strong places, and should be introduced into them without the knowledge of the Dutch. By these means the French king got the start of his enemies, in obtaining possession of all the strongest places in Spanish Flanders. The States General were overwhelmed with consternation when they heard of this event. They saw their own exposed situation, and reflected how readily these troops might fall upon them before they were prepared for their defence. They therefore resolved to acknowledge the young King of Spain, and to take back their battalions to Holland. Indeed, at first King William was inclined to the same course, but he soon saw that war with France was inevitable.

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### 1701.

1. WAR BETWEEN THE GRAND ALLIANCE AND FRANCE.—2. WAR IN ITALY BETWEEN THE IMPERIALISTS AND THE FRENCH.—3. WAR IN SCANDINAVIA.—4. NAVAL WAR.—5. DEATH OF JAMES II., KING OF ENGLAND, AND HIS MILITARY CHARACTER.

#### 1. WAR BETWEEN THE GRAND ALLIANCE AND LOUIS XIV.

The Second Grand Alliance was entered into on the 7th of September between the Emperor, the King of Great Britain, and the

States General of Holland, to restrain the ambition of the French king, maintain the balance of power in Europe, and obtain satisfaction for the house of Austria in relation to the Spanish succession. The Emperor agreed to maintain 90,000 men in the field against France, whilst King William was to furnish 40,000 British and 50 000 Dutch, and the British Parliament voted 40,000 seamen for the service of the year.

## 2. WAR IN ITALY BETWEEN THE IMPERIALISTS AND THE FRENCH.

On the 28th of July, Marshal Catinat, with a French corps d'armée, took possession of all the Alpine passes, and descended into Lombardy. He immediately advanced to guard the passes by which the Imperialist troops could enter from the side of the Tyrol. Prince Eugene of Savoy was placed in command of the Emperor's army, and eluded the vigilance of the French Marshal by leading his army across the frightful and hitherto impassable rocks of the Val Fredda, and passing across the Sette Comuni, he reached Vicenza. The French Marshal did not think proper to hazard an engagement to prevent this movement, as the positive orders of his Court were to act solely on the defensive. Eugene, however, determined to bring his old opponent Catinat to action, and with this view he detached the Prince de Commerci with a considerable corps of cavalry to penetrate between Carpi and the river, whilst the Prince Eugene attacked the French position at Carpi, in which there were 5000 troops. The weather however impeded the march of Commerci so much, that the Prince took Carpi before he came up, and passing the Adige obtained possession of all the country between that river and the Adda, with the exception of Mantua. Whether the French Court was dissatisfied with Catinat for these successes of the Imperialists, or that the Marshal Duke de Villeroy was in higher favour with Louis XIV., the latter arrived in the French camp on the 22nd of August, as the virtual commander-in-chief of the army, with orders to march directly to the enemy, and give them battle. Prince Eugene had established a very strong camp at Chiari, and Villeroy, thinking to do a pleasure to the troops, and to signalize his new command, ordered this camp to be attacked on the 11th of September; but he met with such a repulse, that he was obliged to retire with the loss of 5000 men. Marshal Catinat, who was regarded as the best general the French had at this time, had the forbearance to act with Villeroy on this occasion, and was wounded by a ball in the hand and a severe contusion in the chest; but he was disgusted at the failure, and returned to France. Marshal Villeroy, who was a very inferior general, could not impede Eugene from keeping the field during the whole winter, who exhibited repeated proofs of his invincible courage and extensive capacity for war.

The Prince, however, had the utmost difficulty to supply his troops, for he had no place of defence to depend upon either for supplies or support. His camp was at this time all the ground he possessed in Italy, so that a successful blow now given him

would have ruined his whole army. Accordingly, he determined on a bold proceeding. The French army having gone into quarters, he took by assault Canneto in the Mantuanese, and afterwards Mascaria, Rodolesco, and the bridge of Gazolo, and in a short time established his troops in good winter-quarters in the territories of Guastalla, Parma, and Modena, in open defiance of their rulers.

### 3. WAR IN SCANDINAVIA.

Augustus, King of Poland, was sensible that the King of Sweden, having successfully opposed the Czar and the King of Denmark, would not be long before he attacked him. Accordingly he entered into fresh engagements with the Czar in a conference he had with him during the winter at Birzen in Courland. He engaged to raise 50 000 German troops, whom Peter undertook to subsidize, and at the same time to send him 50,000 of his own troops to learn better discipline. These two monarchs are said to have carried on this conference in a place where there was no want of wine or good cheer. It was the cold month of March, and it was reported they kept themselves warm within and without; and that this continual heat produced a world of endearments and promises to stick to one another till Sweden was on her knees. General Patkul was the soul of the negotiation, but the Czar, and the King, and the minister made merry. Charles was up and stirring, and minding his business. He determined to anticipate the effects of this new treaty, and having passed the winter at Narva, he repaired, as soon as it began to break, to Riga. The Saxon army was posted along the river Dwina, which is here very broad; and it was resolved to dispute the passage with Charles. They were commanded by Marshal Von Steinau, with the Duke of Courland under him. The King of Sweden had prepared some rafts of a new construction, with which he prepared to cross the Dwina. Having experienced at Narva the advantage of a snow-storm, he had a mind to try the artifice of setting fire to wet straw to conceal his movements from the enemy, and succeeded to a very great extent; so that when the smoke cleared off, the Saxons, to their astonishment, saw the King on the same side of the river as themselves, and marching straight upon them. Steinau roused himself in a moment; and as soon as he saw the enemy forming on the river banks, fell upon him with the greater portion of his cavalry, which broke them, and drove them almost into the river. Charles dashed into the stream, and there rallied them as though he had been at a review. Then marching in close order, he repulsed the Saxons and advanced into the plain. Steinau withdrew his troops to a position which was flanked on one side with a wood and on the other by a marsh; his whole force consisted of 12,000, with no other artillery than a single iron gun. The King had 15,000 men, and did not hesitate for a moment to attack. The shock was a rude one. The Duke of Courland withstood it, and penetrated three times even to the King's body-guard; he had two horses killed under him, and at length was struck to the ground by the butt-end of a musket. His cuirassiers with difficulty saved him

from the *mêlée*, and from being crushed under the horses' feet ; but the Saxon army no longer disputed the ground, and retired in disorder. The King of Sweden marched to Mittau, the capital city of Courland, all which submitted to his arms ; and he entered with particular satisfaction the town of Birzen, where the Czar and the King of Poland had conspired his ruin a few months previously.

#### 4. NAVAL WAR.

During the summer the French coasts were overawed by the combined fleets of England and Holland, under the command of Sir George Rooke, who sailed down the Channel in the latter end of August, and detached Vice-Admiral Benbow, with a strong squadron, to the West Indies. The French King, in order to derive all the advantages in his power from his union with Spain, established a company to open a trade with Mexico and Peru, and concluded a new *asiento* treaty for supplying the Spanish plantations with negroes. At the same time he sent a strong squadron to the port of Cadiz.

#### 5. DEATH OF JAMES II., KING OF ENGLAND, AND HIS MILITARY CHARACTER.

On the 16th of September the ex-King James the Second expired at St. Germain in France. There never lived a man whose character was so widely different in youth and age. In the latter he is, as monarch, unhappily "damned to fame." In the former, he deserves, as officer, the praise and gratitude of his country. He served, in 1653, in the French army, under the celebrated Turenne, where, as Clarendon reports of him, "he in a short time got the reputation of a prince of very signal courage, and to be universally beloved of the whole army." He afterwards entered the Spanish army in Flanders, and obtained some military experience. In 1658 he was offered by the King of Spain to be made admiral of his galleys. He was made Lord High Admiral of England at the Restoration, and took the command of the English fleet. Maritime and commercial affairs now engaged his attention, and he became eminent for both courage and capacity. He applied himself to naval affairs with great success, considering the fleet as the glory and protection of England. In 1665 he commanded as admiral in an engagement with the Dutch Admiral Opdam, and obtained a signal victory, sinking or taking nineteen sail. Again, in 1672, when in command at Solebay, he was attacked by Admiral de Ruyter ; and although he was deserted by the French fleet during the engagement, yet he was not defeated. He afterwards administered the affairs of the Admiralty with very great success,—frugal of the public money, exemplary in business, and cherishing and extending the maritime power of the British empire. He was always most zealous for the glory of his country, and was capable of supporting its interests with a great sense of her dignity. In his deportment he was affable though stately, a generous and steady friend, and had a manner of bestowing favours with peculiar grace. To these virtues he added a steadiness of counsels, a perseverance in his plans, and courage in his enterprises, with a strict ad-

herence to facts and truth in all he wrote and said. It was remarked of the two royal brothers by the witty Duke of Buckingham, "That Charles might do well if he would, and that James would do well if he could,"—an observation which speaks well for his heart : and if the qualities of his heart were to be judged by his conduct in the different relations of domestic life, he may be pronounced to be a man of a very amiable natural disposition in private life, and "an officer and a gentleman," in which character he is alone amenable to consideration in this history.

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## 1702.

1. DEATH OF WILLIAM III., KING OF ENGLAND, AND HIS MILITARY CHARACTER.—2. WAR IN ITALY.—3. BATTLE OF LUZZARA.—4. THE EARL OF MARLBOROUGH NAMED GENERALISSIMO OF THE ALLIES.—5. THE SIEGE OF KAISERSWERTH.—6. THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY AND MARSHAL BOUFLERS ASSUME THE COMMAND OF THE FRENCH ARMY.—7. MARLBOROUGH TAKES THE FIELD.—8. SIEGE OF VANLOO.—9. SIEGE OF LIÈGE.—10. BATTLE OF FRIEDLINGEN.—11. MARLBOROUGH NARROWLY ESCAPES BEING MADE PRISONER.—12. BRITISH NAVAL EXPEDITION TO CADIZ AND VIGO.—13. NAVAL WAR IN THE WEST INDIES.—14. BATTLE OF CLISSAU.—15. WAR IN RUSSIA.

1. DEATH OF WILLIAM III., KING OF ENGLAND, AND HIS MILITARY CHARACTER.

The earliest and most important event of this year to the military reader was the death of William the Third, King of England, and Stadtholder of the United Provinces. Greater as General of Holland, than either king or stadtholder, he left behind him the character of a great politician, though he had never been a popular one : yet he aspired to the honour of acting as umpire in all the contests of Europe. The distinguishing criterion of his character was ambition, yet it was an object of his constant attention to attend to the prosperity of that country to which he owed his birth and extraction. He spoke Dutch, French, English, and German equally well; and he understood Latin, Spanish, and Italian, so that he was well fitted to command armies composed of several nations. Though his constitution was weak, delicate, and infirm, he loved the manly exercises of the field, and was indefatigable in war; he proved himself a formidable enemy, though he was seldom victorious. His defects were manifestly due, in a great measure to circumstances independent of him, but that spirit which even these defects could not suppress was all his own.<sup>1</sup> He had a considerable degree of knowledge in fortification, and understood military operations by land, but neither professed nor pretended to any skill in maritime

<sup>1</sup> Bolingbroke.

affairs. In courage, fortitude, and equanimity, he rivalled the most eminent warriors of antiquity. His deportment was grave, phlegmatic, and sullen; he was very sparing in speech, and dry in conversation; and his manners were unpleasing, except in battle, when his deportment was free, spirited, and animated. In tumult he was always dignified, cool, and serene, and a stranger to violent transports of passion in public; yet in private he was frequently harsh, passionate, and severe in regard to trifles. He was dead to all the warm and generous emotions of the human heart, a cold relation, an indifferent husband, a disagreeable man; perfectly indifferent about humouring mankind, yet not destitute of dissimulation and intrigue. It has been said of him, that danger had the same effect on his temperament that wine has on many people, and roused him to cheerfulness and dash. His character and success served to show that moderate abilities may achieve the greatest purposes, if the objects aimed at be pursued with perseverance, and planned with ordinary judgment, even though without genius. The best advice of William to his successor was a strong recommendation of the Earl of Marlborough, as the most proper person in England to lead her armies and direct her councils in the field.

## 2. WAR IN ITALY.

The earliest military event of the year occurred in Italy. Prince Eugene, in his observations during the winter, had noticed the negligence of the French in their quarters, and was rather twitted to try the effect of surprise upon them by an insolent remark of Marshal de Villeroy, in allusion to Eugene, Commerci, and Vaudemont, "*Il faut, disait Villeroy, que je fasse danser le rigodon à ces trois princes pendant le Carnaval.*" Accordingly, on the 1st of February, at three in the morning, a detachment of 400 men obtained admission into a priest's garden, through a dry watercourse or a rueduct, and immediately opened the gates of Cremona, and admitted 4000 men with so much secrecy, that the Spanish governor and Villeroy were thoroughly taken by surprise; the first, hastening into the streets, was killed by a musket-ball, and the marshal, awakened by the fire, mounted his horse, and suddenly found himself in the midst of the enemy, who quietly led him off prisoner to Prince Eugene's tent. The Prince desired Commerci to ask his marshal to give orders for a surrender. "*On ne doit pas obéir à un prisonnier,*" replied Villeroy. It happened that M. d'Entragues, who was colonel of a marine detachment in the river, had ordered a review on board the boats at four in the morning, and the marines were repairing to their rendezvous as the Germans entered the town. These were immediately collected by d'Entragues, and formed a nucleus, round which the surprised French, half naked and without order or officers to command them, rallied. They soon made head against the Imperial troops, and drove them from one street to another till they were fairly forced out of the town. Two Irish regi-

<sup>2</sup> "I must make these three princes dance a jig during the Carnival"

ments, forming part of the garrison, defended the bridge across the Po, where Eugene had ordered a body of cuirassiers to penetrate, and M. de Praslin, who commanded here, availed himself of a favourable moment to blow up the bridge, so that Cremona was saved. The French, always ready with a jest, made this couplet in allusion to the loss of a general whom they did not value, and the recovery of the town after this surprise :—

“ Par une faveur de Bellone  
 Et par un bonheur sans égal  
 Nous avons retrouvé Crémone  
 Et perdu notre général.”<sup>3</sup>

Marshal Villeroy was despatched prisoner to Inspruck, and the Duke de Vendôme was sent to replace him at the head of the French army.

Prince Eugene went to blockade Mantua, which was defended by M. de Sesse, who contrived, notwithstanding, to introduce supplies. The contending generals made all sorts of efforts against each other. Eugene very nearly took Vendôme prisoner in his headquarters at Rivalta, on the lake of Mantua. Vendôme opened a battery of twelve guns on Eugene's house, and drove him out of it. The house of Commerce was burned by red-hot shot. Vendôme carried on against Eugene a war of artifice and surprises and small affairs, in which some hundreds of men were killed, and nothing gained. At length, the Prince determined to raise the blockade of Mantua, and to give Vendôme battle. Philip, the new King of Spain, had arrived in Italy on a visit to his father-in-law, the Duke of Savoy, and repaired to the army of the Duke de Vendôme, having forbidden him to attack Prince Eugene until he should arrive in the camp.

### 3. THE BATTLE OF LUZZARA.

Prince Eugene had had an affair of cavalry with the enemy at Crostolo, a few days previous to the 15th of August, when he thought that with a force not above half that opposed to him (in fact, 26,000 men), he might post himself behind the dykes of Zero close to the Po, in such a manner as that the enemy, ignorant of his situation, or that he had crossed that river, might be surprised at the moment of their establishing their camp on the other bank. The camp was already marked out in front of the castle of Luzzara, which was about to be attacked, when by chance an adjutant with an advanced guard had the curiosity to ascend the dyke in order to view the country, where he discovered the Imperialists lying on their faces, with their horses in rear ranged in order of battle. The French camp was immediately alarmed, but the Imperialists pushed across the dyke and fell upon them before they could form. The ground was, however, so intersected with hedges, that the former were in a posture

<sup>3</sup> Anglicized :—

“ The French have the luck of the devil-an'-all,  
 For they've both taken Crémone and lost their general.”

of defence before the assailants could deploy. Nevertheless, the Prince attacked them with great impetuosity. Commerci was killed in the left attack, and was replaced by Lichtenstein, who was killed likewise. Eugene attacked the centre, where he was opposed by Vendôme. Night put an end to the contest, but both armies kept their ground. Out of compliment to the King of Spain, who was present, a Te Deum was chanted at Paris for this victory; and one was equally sung at Vienna. Two days after this battle, the Bourbon king returned to Spain, and nothing further occurred in Italy, where, nevertheless, Prince Eugene maintained his ground, notwithstanding the great disparity of force between the opposing armies. At the end of the year the Prince also left the army and repaired to Vienna.

#### 4. THE EARL OF MARLBOROUGH NAMED GENERALISSIMO OF THE ALLIES.

The Earl of Marlborough was despatched to the Hague within three weeks of Queen Anne's succession to the English throne, and war was formally declared against France on the 4th of May, by the Emperor, Great Britain, and the States General. After some pretensions from other generals had been disposed of, Marlborough was named Generalissimo of the allied armies, and repaired to Nimeguen to assume the command. Many of the small German powers sent their contingents to the Imperial camp, and thus the Earl found himself at the head of 60,000 men, well provided with all necessaries, and long disciplined by the best officers of the age. On the other hand, the main body of the French army was assembled on the Meuse, and in the strong fortresses, existing in the bishopric of Liège, under the command of the Duke of Burgundy, grandson of the king, a youth utterly inexperienced in the management of a company, but who was assisted and virtually controlled by the celebrated Marshal Boufflers. A force under the command of another French general, the Count de la Motte, and the Marquis de Bodmar, who commanded in the name of Philip, covered the western portion of the Netherlands; and Marshal Tallard, with 13,000 men, was posted as a corps of observation to interrupt the siege of Kaiserswerth.

#### 5. THE SIEGE OF KAISERSWERTH.

This place was invested in the month of April, in the name of the Elector Palatine, by the Prince of Nassau-Saarbrück, Maréchal-du-camp to the emperor, under whom the Dutch troops served as auxiliaries, before the war had been declared by the States General. The whole, Prussians, Palatines, and Dutch, amounted to 25,000 men, and their commander was one of the generals who had been put forward as a prince of the empire, to the command in chief in opposition to Marlborough; but he and Ginkell, Earl of Athlone, a Dutch general, who at the time commanded at Nimeguen, had mutually withdrawn their pretensions in favour of the English general. The French garrison at Kaiserswerth made a desperate defence. They worsted the besiegers in divers sallies, and maintained the place until it was reduced to a heap of ashes. At length, however, the allies made a general



assault, attacking the counterscarp and ravelin, which they carried, after a very obstinate engagement, with the loss of 2000 men. Then the garrison capitulated on honourable terms. The siege lasted from the 18th of April to the 15th of June.

6. THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY AND MARSHAL BOUFLERS ASSUME  
THE COMMAND OF THE FRENCH ARMY.

The Duke of Burgundy arrived in the French camp in May, accompanied by the celebrated Duke de Berwick, and it was evident that Marshal Bouflers would signalize the arrival of a French prince by some decisive exploit. Athlone had rather expected this, and had thrown a garrison of 12,000 men into Maestricht, after the surrender of Kaiserswerth; and had taken post at Cranenburg, in the vicinity of Cleves. The Duke of Burgundy, being joined by the troops under Marshal Tallard, suddenly pushed forward, on the 18th of June, towards the Waal with a view of surprising Nimeguen, which was without a garrison or a single gun upon its ramparts. The whole force collected under the French prince was fifty-six battalions and one hundred squadrons. Athlone's whole force did not exceed twenty-seven battalions and sixty-two squadrons. This general was thoroughly taken by surprise, for the Marquis d'Alègre had been left before him with some cavalry, to keep him occupied. On discovering the deception, Athlone decamped at eight in the evening; d'Alègre kept upon his track, but could not check his march, and he entered the town at the very moment when the enemy was within gunshot of the works. He immediately threw the troops into the houses, behind the hedges, and along the covered way of the place—so that the French were just too late, and failed in their project, acknowledging to a loss of 300 men; but although the Dutch rejoiced in their deliverance, they were in consternation at having been exposed to so much peril.

7. MARLBOROUGH TAKES THE FIELD.

The French army established itself behind the Meuse, in a place between Goch and Genep, and the allied army along the Waal, between Nimeguen and Fort Schonk. Here, on the 2nd of July, Marlborough took the command. His very first movements were much thwarted by the rivalries of the Dutch, Hanoverians, and Prussians. No one but a man of the temper and address of the generalissimo could have set such an army in motion. On the 7th he crossed the Waal, and established his head-quarters at Duckenberg, a little to the south of Nimeguen; the same day he threw three bridges over the Meuse below Grave. On the 26th he crossed that river and encamped with the right at Uden and the left at Zeeland. At Hamont he was joined by a reinforcement of British cavalry and artillery, and by part of the corps of General Henckelm. The French hastened by forced marches in the direction of Peer and Bray; and, as Marlborough calculated, they directed their march through Sonhoven to Beringen. He proposed to attack them in their

passage over the heaths or in their camp at Sonhoven, which was so ill chosen as to render defeat inevitable ; but the Dutch deputies refused their consent to this resolve ; and the French succeeded in reaching Beringen unmolested on the 5th of August. On the same day the confederate army established itself in the rear of Peer, with their right on the Dommel, and their left at Erlicum. They were now joined by ten battalions and several squadrons, and with artillery from Maestricht, the garrison of which was disengaged by this advance. With a view to ulterior operations, Marlborough prepared to pass the Dommel, but the French commanders broke up from Beringen on the 9th, and detached the Duke of Berwick on the 12th to cut off a valuable convoy, which had been long expected from Bois-le-duc. This obliged the Duke to make a retrograde movement to Everbeck. At length the convoy, which had engrossed the attention of both armies, arrived from Bois-le-duc, having traversed the heath near Geldorp, within sight of Berwick, who was deterred from attempting to interrupt its march by the position of the allied detachment, and it therefore proceeded, and on the 20th reached the camp in safety. Marlborough was determined to oblige the enemy to withdraw from Bois-le-duc, and therefore advanced on the 22nd to Great Brengel, which movement alarmed the French commanders ; and, on the following day, they came in sight of his line of march in such disorder, and with such apparent ignorance of the ground, that Marlborough determined to take the opportunity he had long desired, of risking an engagement. He, accordingly, gave orders to his army to advance, and approached so near the enemy that a cannonade was opened on both sides, but his orders were so slowly and reluctantly obeyed, that it was night before he could get his troops to the attack. On the ensuing day he found the enemy stronger than he expected ; and in the night of the 28th they silently decamped, effecting their retreat to Beverloo, with no further detriment than a few casualties during the cannonade and a trifling attack on their rearguard. The Duke of Burgundy here quitted the command of the army in disgust at being obliged to retreat before the allies, and gave it over to Boufflers.

Marlborough having now the whole of Spanish Guelderland at his discretion, listened to the deputies from the States General, who represented to him the necessity of dispossessing the enemy of the places they maintained in it, which obstructed the free recognition of the Maese. The French army consisted at this time of 70 battalions and 114 squadrons, and the allies of 92 battalions and 150 squadrons. Unable to prevent the reduction of the fortresses, Marshal Boufflers made a movement, in hopes of some favourable opportunity to obstruct the confederates in their operations. On the 10th of September he marched, and on the 13th established his camp between Tongres and Borchloen, fixing his head-quarters at Bedol. Marshal Tallard was detached, with 17 battalions and 25 squadrons, to favour the retreat of the Elector of Cologne from Bonn, and to throw a garrison into that city. Meanwhile, the requisite preparations being matured, the investment of Venloo was completed by the allied generals.

## 8. THE SIEGE OF VENLOO.

On the 5th of September, 32 battalions and 36 squadrons were detached for the siege, under the command of the Prince of Nassau-Saarbruck, and on the 7th the attack was opened on both sides of the Maese, under the direction of the celebrated engineer Coehoorn. To cover the operations, Marlborough on the 13th took up a position with his right at Sertendal, and his left at Lonaken. The trenches were rapidly pushed forward. The first attack was directed on the 18th against Fort St. Michael, on the other side of the river, which was connected with the place by a bridge of boats, and formed its principal defence. Lord Cutts and a detachment of English troops were ordered to assault; they stormed the covered way, and carried the ravelin at the point of the bayonet, notwithstanding the explosion of a mine. Then, forcing their way over a bridge which connected this ravelin with the interior works, they obtained possession of the fort itself. Two hundred of the enemy were killed in the attack, and 600 drowned in attempting to get across the river. Batteries were now raised in the captured fort, and on the 23rd a tremendous fire was opened on the defences of the place. Before mid-day, an accessible breach being effected, the preparations were made for assault. At this moment news arrived in the camp of the reduction of Landau, and the event was announced by a salute of artillery that was to form the signal for attack. A flag of truce was immediately displayed, the capitulation arranged, and before the close of the day the garrison quitted the breach with the honours of war, and were conducted to Antwerp. Stevensvaert was next attacked on the 1st of October, but being provided with a small garrison, made but a faint defence, and was surrendered on the 5th. The siege of Ruremonde was begun on the 2nd by the Prussians on one side of the river, and the English on the other. The batteries were opened on the 6th, and the same afternoon the garrison capitulated. In the midst of these operations the army of the empire, under the command of Joseph, the young King of the Romans, had resumed the offensive. On the 16th of June, the Margrave of Baden broke up his camp on the Upper Rhine and invested Landau, which was regarded as an outwork of Alsace. After an arduous struggle, this citadel was taken by assault on the 9th of September, and the place was surrendered on the 10th by Melac the governor.

## 9. THE SIEGE OF LIÈGE.

Marlborough now extorted the consent of the deputies to attempt the reduction of Liège, which commanded the navigation of the Maese above Maestricht. This enterprise he executed with his usual diligence and success. Apprised that Boufflers had examined the defences of the place, and was preparing to post himself under the walls, he suddenly broke up his camp, and marched with such celerity as to anticipate the enemy on the very ground they intended to occupy. So secret and so well combined was this movement, that the French commander approached within cannon-shot of the confederates before

he was conscious of his danger. Boufflers might have made an intrenched camp behind Liège, and kept possession of the city with a good garrison ; but he was now too late, and had only time to reinforce the citadel, which contained a garrison of eight battalions. He himself made a precipitate retreat to Orp-le-petit, and placed his camp between Lannuye and Landen. The city of Liège opened its gates to Marlborough on the 13th of October, and preparations were instantly made to attack the citadel. On the 20th the batteries were opened, and on the 23rd a breach was effected, and the approaches sufficiently advanced for an attack on the covered way. The troops, headed by the hereditary Prince of Hesse Cassel, descended the counterscarp and advanced to the breach, which they took, after a resistance of half an hour. The governor, the Sieur de Violaine, was made prisoner in the assault by an English lieutenant, and the citadel was carried with much vigour and bravery. Preparations were next made to attack the Chartreuse, a detached work on the opposite side of the Maese ; but the garrison being discouraged by the fate of their companions in the citadel, would not abide the consequences of an assault, but surrendered, at the first fire of the batteries, on the 29th. Three hundred thousand florins were found in the citadel, besides notes for above a million, drawn on substantial merchants in Liège, who paid the money, and the booty became the prize of the conquerors. After this the French retired behind the Meuse, with their right at Boneff and their left on the Josse ; and Marlborough distributed his troops in winter-quarters, and prepared to return to England.

The French were not quite so unfortunate on the Rhine as in Flanders. On the 15th of June M. de Plainville surrendered Keisewen, in the Electorate of Cologne, after fifty-nine days' open trenches ; and the Elector of Bavaria surprised the city of Ulm by a stratagem in a fog, and then declared in favour of the house of Bourbon, which had by this time complied with all his demands. The French made themselves masters of Neuburg in the circle of Suabia, while Prince Louis of Baden, weakened by sending off detachments, was obliged to lie inactive in his camp near Friedlingen.

#### 10. THE BATTLE OF FRIEDLINGEN.

Marshal Villars having been detached towards the Rhine, posted himself near Huningen, which was threatened by Prince Louis of Baden. The latter was stationed in the plain between the Rhine and the hills, with his left towards Basle, and his right extending towards the village of Friedlingen, before which he had raised a large redoubt. As winter approached, the Prince of Baden thought it best to retire, but did not apprehend that, in making his retreat, he had anything to fear from an army posted on the other side of the river, which had a long bridge to pass over before they could come up with him ; and he accordingly sent off his troops in two detachments—his infantry in one, and his cavalry in the other. Villars observed this movement, and ordered the army to cross the river. He then divided it into columns to follow the Prince. The column led by M. Desbordes followed the infantry, but could not come up with it

the other column, under the direction of M. de Magnac, advanced so rapidly on the enemy, that it was with difficulty these last could recover themselves from the defile in which the head of the column had become entangled, and form themselves under the fire of the cannon of the redoubt, which supported their right. Here they now showed front to receive the attack of M. de Magnac; but with great judgment he feigned to retire, which drew on him the advance of the cavalry, who thus quitted the protection of the redoubt. In presence of M. de Magnac's unbroken force, these now attempted to execute a change of formation, and whilst thus employed were attacked by the enemy, who put them into utter confusion. The Prince of Baden, having lost 2000 men, abandoned the field, and retired towards Stauffen; but in the moment of victory the French were unaccountably seized with a panic, so that if the Imperial troops had stood firm a moment or two longer, the victory would have turned to a defeat. Voltaire says of this transaction, "*La plus grande peine qu'eut le général, ce fut de rallier les vainqueurs*." The next day Friedlingen surrendered. The certain result of this battle was that the Imperialists could not re-enter Alsace. For this feat of arms Villars obtained the bâton of marshal. Towards the latter end of October Marshal Tallard arrived with a body of 18,000 men, and reduced Treves and Traerbach; but, on the other hand, the Prince of Hesse-Cassel, with a detachment from Marlborough's army, reduced several small towns.

#### 11. MARLBOROUGH NARROWLY ESCAPES BEING MADE PRISONER.

Whilst the presence of Marlborough, who was already regarded as their saviour and protector by the Dutch, and by the English as one who had retrieved the ancient honour of the nation, was eagerly looked for both at the Hague and at London, both nations were in imminent peril of losing the great commander, on whom all their expectations and hopes were placed. On the 3rd of November he quitted Maestricht for the Hague, and descended the Meuse with the Dutch deputies in a boat, accompanied by a guard of twenty-five men. At Ruremonde he was joined by Coehoorn, in another boat, with an additional escort of fifty followers. In this situation they were surprised by a French partisan from Gueldres, who with thirty-five men was lying in ambush among the sedges of the river. The Duke's tow-ropes were suddenly seized, a volley poured into the boat, and the guard overpowered. The Dutch deputies were provided with passes; not so the General; but he did not lose his presence of mind in this moment of danger. One of his attendants, who had fortunately preserved a French pass (that had been granted to his brother, General Churchill, who had been obliged to quit the army from ill health), slipped it unperceived into his hand. The date had expired, but with undisturbed confidence he presented it to his captors. The darkness of the night, and the confusion of the moment, prevented a discovery; and Marlborough was suffered

4 "The greatest difficulty the general had was to rally the conquerors."

to proceed, and continued his journey to England, where he arrived on the 28th of November. He was received with great favour by the Queen, who ordered a patent of a Duke to be conferred on him, and he was enthusiastically received by the parliament and by all classes of the British nation.

## 12. BRITISH NAVAL EXPEDITION TO CADIZ AND VIGO.

The late king had formed a plan for the reduction of Cadiz, and accordingly an attempt was made upon it this year by sea and by land. Admiral Sir George Rooke, commanding a fleet of twenty-five line-of-battle ships, with fire-ships and others, amounting to 160 sail, English and Dutch, and the Duke of Ormond with a force of 13,000 men, entered the bay of Cadiz, and summoned the governor; but on his refusal, the commanders quarrelled as to what should be done. At length it was agreed to make for Vigo, where a rich flotilla from America had taken refuge. The combined French and Spanish fleets were moored in the harbour, protected by a strong boom, and a ship of the line at either extremity. Within the boom, five ships of from sixty to seventy guns with their broadsides bore upon the entrance. On the 11th of October the expedition anchored in the bay. On the 12th, Ormond with 2500 men landed in a sandy nook on the south side, about two leagues distant from the town; meeting with no opposition, the grenadiers, under Lord Shannon and Colonel Pierce, marched directly to the fort, which guarded the passage into the harbour. Vice-Admiral Hopson, in the "Torbay," led the naval attack, and having broken the boom, was in a little time between the two ships placed to defend the harbour. Hopson, although a very brave and enterprising officer, had his misgivings as to his ability to break the boom, and sent to inform Sir George Rooke that he thought it could not be broken. The admiral accordingly at once repaired on board the "Torbay" himself, and observing that the length across the harbour exceeded half a mile, determined that no boom of such a length could resist a ship, and ordered Hopson to proceed; the other ships following found a way through the same passage. The "Torbay" suffered severely, having 115 men killed, besides many wounded, and was so disabled that Hopson shifted his flag into the "Monmouth." Meanwhile the Duke of Ormond with the rest of the troops took post in the hills to sustain Lord Shannon's detachment, which having driven the enemy from the fort, made themselves masters of the lower platform, mounting thirty-eight pieces of cannon. Hereupon Churchill's regiment advanced, and the enemy, retiring into an old town, were kept at bay for some time. Here Captain Lovel, of the French navy, who commanded, thought to make a rush for their lines, but the British grenadiers following him, forced their way with them into the castle, and made themselves masters of the fort. The land forces having thus gained possession of the town, the French admiral gave orders to set fire to the ships of his fleet, so that seventy French ships, with 334 guns, were destroyed, besides three Spanish men-of-war carrying 178 guns. The English and Dutch captured however

ten ships with 628 guns, and of the fifteen galleons nine were taken and four destroyed. The booty on board the captured fleet was computed at six millions of dollars. Château Regnaud proclaimed that he had nevertheless carried off the greater part of the gold and silver by the sailors of the fleet in carts to Madrid. The glory which the English acquired in this expedition was in some measure tarnished by the conduct of the forces, whose scandalous disorder and neglect of discipline were only exceeded by the indecent acrimony and conflicting accusations of the officers commanding the sea and land forces in the expedition.

### 13. NAVAL WAR IN THE WEST INDIES.

In the West Indies, Admiral Benbow, a bold, rough seaman, fell in with a French squadron under Admiral Du Casse. The British had seven ships of the line, with one Dutch ship and five smaller vessels. The French had six ships of much heavier calibre. Chase was immediately given, but the ships were so much separated that it was some time before Benbow could make the attack. The brunt of the action was borne by the flag-ships, "Breda," Captain Fogg, and "Ruby," 50, Captain Walton; both these ships, and the "Falmouth," 48, Captain Vincent, pursued the enemy, and were closely engaged; but from want of energy in some of the others, the enemy effected their escape. On the 24th the "Breda" came up with the sternmost French ship, which Benbow in person boarded three times. In these attacks the gallant officer had his right leg shattered by a chain shot, but he insisted on being placed on deck, his leg lying in a cradle, from which he gave directions during the rest of the action. At the same time Benbow was deserted by his captains, and the enemy perceiving this assailed the "Breda," but making no hand of it sailed away. The heroic Benbow, broken-hearted at this sad desertion and misconduct of his officers, gave over the pursuit, and proceeded with his squadron to Jamaica, where he died of his wounds on the 4th of November. When one of his lieutenants expressed to the admiral his concern for the loss of his leg, "I am sorry for it too," replied the gallant Benbow, "but I would rather have lost them both than have witnessed such dishonour brought upon the English nation; but, do you hear, if another shot takes me off, behave like brave men and fight it out." It is said that the boisterous manner of Benbow had so disgusted the captains, that they entered into a regular confederacy against him to let him be cut off. Captains Kirby and Wade were, however, both tried by court-martial, and shot for their misconduct. The French admiral was a brave man, and felt for his foe as he would under similar circumstances have felt for himself, and the following letter written by him to the vice-admiral is said to be still extant in the Benbow family:—

"Sir,—I had little hopes on Monday last but to have supped in your cabin, but it pleased God to order otherwise. As for those cowardly captains who deserted you, hang them up, for by— they deserve it.

"DU CASSE."

## 14. THE BATTLE OF CLISSAU.

In Poland affairs were so embroiled by the cardinal primate, that King Augustus entered into negotiations for his own personal security with Charles XII., but the king seized his brother king's ambassador for daring to come without a passport, saying that he only negotiated with the kingdom and not with the king. A deputation accordingly presented themselves from the Diet, but he told them he would only confer with them at Warsaw, whither he forthwith advanced on the 5th of May, and the gates were opened to him on the first summons. He plainly told them he would listen to no terms from the Poles till they had elected another king. Augustus saw clearly that he had no hope but in a battle. He had secretly collected together a body of Saxon troops from his electorate, for he was not popular in Poland; and the Palatines, frightened, tampered with, and irresolute, deserted his ranks. On the 13th of July, the two kings came in presence of each other on a vast plain near Clissau, between Warsaw and Cracow. Augustus had collected together 24,000 men. Charles had not above 12,000. The fight began with artillery, and when one of the first shots struck down the Duke of Holstein, commanding the Swedish cavalry, Charles is said to have shed a tear in passing on hearing of his death, and then dashed forward at the head of his guards. Augustus in like manner headed his troops, and did all that man could do to save a throne. The Polish portion of his troops, which formed his right wing, deserted him in the battle. Charles saw it, and that he had attained the ascendancy in numbers; his victory was a complete one; he captured everything, and pursued the fugitive King of Poland into Cracow. Augustus in trying to escape from the conqueror passed through the town, and Charles in hot pursuit following him, fell from his horse and broke his collar-bone; he was carried back to Cracow, where he was confined for six weeks, but he still turned his attention to the deliberations of the Diet at Warsaw, and declared that if he remained fifty years he would not budge till they had dethroned the King of Poland. The army of Augustus retired towards Prussia, to the north-west of Warsaw. Charles, as soon as he was cured, hastened after it, and came up with it on the banks of the river Bug, at a place called Pulteska-Glad. Stenau commanded the Saxons there, to the number of 10,000 men. Charles passed the river *à la nage*, at the head of his cavalry, and such was the terror of the reputation he had acquired, that the Saxons fled at his approach. Stenau held his ground for a moment with two regiments, but the flight soon became general, the larger portion of the troops dispersing themselves, so that there were not above 1000 prisoners, and 600 killed. Augustus reached Thorn, on the Vistula. Charles advanced to besiege it, and Augustus not thinking himself safe again fled. Charles had been so rapid in all his movements, that he had no artillery to besiege Thorn; he was obliged to send for it from Sweden, whence fourteen frigates and forty transports arrived with the artillery and reinforcements at Dantzic to ascend the Vistula. The magistrates refused to admit them, and allow them to disembark; and General Steinhöch put the town



under a contribution of 100 000 crowns. The siege of Thorn was begun on the 22nd of September. Rebel, the governor, had a garrison of 5000, and he defended the place for a month, when he surrendered at discretion. Charles then entered Elbing, on the Vistula, on the 18th of December, and raised heavy contributions on the inhabitants of both these towns.

#### 15. WAR IN RUSSIA.

The Czar Peter continued to make repeated attacks on the Swedes wherever they were to be met with, either by sea or land, and although their king was absent in Poland, the spirit of his subjects everywhere rivall'd that of their sovereign. General Schlippenbach commanded the Swedish forces, and was opposed by General Sheremetoff, who appears to have been both a land and a sea officer, for in a naval action on the lake Peipus he succeeded in capturing a Swedish frigate. This success encouraged the Czar to make a forced march to defend Archangel against a Swedish fleet. On the 19th of July, Sheremetoff encountered Schlippenbach on the river Imlie, where he gained a victory, and took sixteen colours and twenty guns. Advancing to the confines of Livonia and Ingria, he took the town of Munichburg, when he destroyed the town and carried away the inhabitants. There, in the house of the Pastor Gluck, resided a young Livonian peasant who, included among the captives, was destined afterwards to become the Empress Catherine, wife of Peter the Great. On the Lake Ladoga, the Russian fleet compelled the Swedes to retire to Viborg, from whence they beheld the strong town of Nottburg not only besieged, but in the 18th of September to the 12th of October, when it was taken by assault, but also destroyed to make way for the fort of Schlusselburg (that is the town of the key) which almost immediately arose in its place, and of which the celebrated Mouschloff was made governor. Before the surrender of Nottburg, it is related that the Swedish commandant desired to send for two Swedish officers from their nearest port to certify, that having only eighty three surviving combatants and 156 wounded men, he could not successfully defend the breach or maintain the place against the enemy any longer.

#### 1703

1. DEFECTION OF THE DUKE OF SAVOY FROM FRANCE.—2. WAR ON THE RHINE.—3. SIEGE OF BONN.—4. MARSHAL DE VILLEROY COMMANDS THE FRENCH FORCES.—5. MARSHAL VILLARS GAINS THE BATTLE OF HOCHSTADT OVER COUNT STYRUM.—6. OLDAM ROUTED BY MARSHAL BOUIERS.—7. MARLBOROUGH TAKES HUX AND LIMBURG.—8. MARSHAL VILLARS REINFORCED BY THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY.—9. BATTLE OF STRIBACH.—10. WAR IN ITALY.—11. WAR IN SCANDINAVIA.—12. NAVAL WAR.

#### 1. DEFECTION OF THE DUKE OF SAVOY FROM FRANCE

The King of France began the new year by creating ten new

marshals of France, which with the nine existing made the number nineteen. "The wits of the court remarked, "*C'étoient pour n'en pas manquer.*" They were none of them men of great distinction, and Louis XIV. kept to the services of the original nine, even when his fortunes were at the lowest. The most important event of this year, in its military prospects, was the defection from the French alliance of the Duke of Savoy, who was a blood relation of Louis XIV., and father-in-law both of the Duke of Burgundy and of the young King of Spain. This circumstance was not made known to the French armies till late in the year; but so badly did the Duke of Savoy manage his affairs, that he left 5000 of his men at the very time serving in the army of the Duke of Vendôme, who immediately disarmed them. The King of Portugal, who had at first acknowledged Philip as King of Spain, seized an early opportunity to conclude a treaty with England, his old ally; by which he bound himself to receive in his kingdom a combined army of English and Dutch, and to furnish 28,000 Portuguese troops against the Bourbons. After some hesitation, the Duke of Schomberg was appointed to the command of this allied force.

## 2. WAR ON THE RHINE.

By the death of the Prince of Saarbruck, and of the Earl of Athlone, Marlborough was relieved from the jealousy of the two rivals, who had competed with him for the command-in-chief of the allied armies. The death of his only son had, however, detained him in England, so that in the mean time, and by his advice, Rheinberg was invested and reduced by the Prussian troops; and the capture of the fortress was followed by the blockade of Gueldres, the only place still held by the enemy in Spanish Guelderland. The result of the last campaign had been to remove the seat of war from the Dutch frontier and the Rhine, to the Meuse and the French and Spanish frontiers; and Marlborough had now formed an extensive plan for the invasion of French Flanders and Brabant; but in this, as almost in every instance, his genius was shackled by the timidity of the States General. To soothe their alarms, he reluctantly consented to open the campaign with the siege of Bonn, upon the Rhine, a frontier town of great importance, from its commanding the passage of that river, and the transit of military stores and provisions for the use of either army. Notwithstanding the obstructions with which he had to struggle, Marlborough drew his troops from their quarters with his usual diligence and activity, so that by the 2nd of April he had assembled an army of sufficient force to protect Liège. To execute this intended enterprise, he gave to Overkirk the command of the corps of observation, and he himself proceeded towards Bonn.

## 3. SIEGE OF BONN

The allied force intending to undertake the siege consisted of forty battalions and sixty squadrons, with a train of 100 pieces of artillery. The trenches were opened on the 3rd of May. The plan was, to have three different attacks: the first under Coehoorn was to

be directed against the fort on the other side of the Rhine, and the second and third were to be directed against the city and outworks, under the hereditary Prince of Hesse-Cassel and General Fagel.

#### 4. MARSHAL DE VILLEROY COMMANDS THE FRENCH FORCES.

Meanwhile the French took the field under the joint command of Villeroi (who had been released by the exertions and influence of the King) and Boufflers : these commanders, unwilling to remain on the defensive, advanced against the covering army of Overkirk ; they employed the utmost haste in getting their troops together, but they were not sufficiently prompt to effect their purpose ; for although they collected 40,000 men, and had advanced as far as Tongeren, yet the approaches against Bonn were pushed with such rapidity, that the fort was taken on the 9th. The Marquis d'Alegre, who was entrusted with the defence, made as vigorous a resistance as his means permitted, nevertheless the place capitulated on the 16th of May, and Marlborough was glad to be thus enabled to go to the assistance of Overkirk, and therefore did not insist on the condition that the garrison should become prisoners of war. On the 17th he effected a junction with the Dutch commander, and established his head quarters at Mochst, a monastery in the vicinity of Maestricht. Before quitting Bonn, however, he embarked on the river twenty battalions of foot, and twenty one squadrons of horse, under the command of Cuelhoorn, Spair and Opdam were to go by land to Bergen-op Zoom with twenty other battalions, where they were all to assemble in order to threaten Antwerp and invade West Flanders.

#### 5. MARSHAL VILLARS GAINS THE BATTLE OF HOCHSTADT OVER COUNT STYRUM

Marshal Villars received orders to join the Elector of Bavaria, and was reinforced by a body of troops from Tallard, with which he was to advance. Marshal Tallard had in the meantime extended his forces along the Upper Rhine and Moselle, and reduced Treves and Traerbach, and in accordance with the grand plan laid down for the campaign, Marshal Villars broke up from his winter quarters on the 9th of March, and before Marlborough had arrived from England had reduced the important fort of Kehl, then striking across the Black Forest had joined the Elector of Bavaria ; routed 20,000 of the Emperor's troops under Count Styrum, took Augsburg and threatened the road to Vienna. This was on the 18th of September. The French had their position at Hochstadt, from which this battle takes its name with them, creating some confusion with the famous battle of the same name gained by Marlborough the following year, which the French also call Hochstadt. Owing to a mistake Count Styrum attacked prematurely and brought on an action that lasted nine hours. Styrum was defeated and driven back to Nordlingen "sans équipages et sans munitions."<sup>5</sup> The Gallo-Bavarian force consisted of seventy-two squadrons and forty-eight battalions, and was com-

<sup>5</sup> With loss of bag and baggage.

manded by the Elector of Bavaria and Marshal Villars. They even reached Ratisbon, where the Diet of the Empire were assembled, and took possession of the gate of the city.

#### 6. OPDAM ROUTED BY MARSHAL BOUFLERS.

The French army under the command of Marshal Villeroy and Boufflers counted at this time sixty-one battalions and 118 squadrons, whilst Marlborough's army opposed to them consisted of fifty-nine battalions and 125 squadrons. The French had intrenched camps on the Meuse and on the verge of the frontier between Antwerp and Ostend; and to maintain their defences they had established two flying camps, one under the Marquis of Bedmar of forty battalions and twenty-seven squadrons, and the other under the Count de la Motte. To the former were opposed Coehoorn with the Dutch troops from Bonn, who had his head-quarters at Stabroek, east of the Scheldt, whilst Spaar kept De la Motte in check, and Opdam was at Bergen-op-Zoom; both ready to be supported by Coehoorn in an attempt to surprise Antwerp. Marlborough's plan for the campaign was to reduce Antwerp and Ostend: and with this view, he had so placed himself as to detain the main French army at a distance, and yet be ready to gain the advance by a rapid movement and effect a junction with the Dutch, so as to interpose his army between the different bodies of the enemy. The most profound and accurate combinations are, however, easily frustrated by the slightest want of concert in the subordinate agents. Contrary to the express orders and views of the Generalissimo, Coehoorn on the 26th of June crossed the Scheldt to Liefkenshoek; and, on the ensuing morning, he and Spaar made a combined attack on the enemy's lines: the latter penetrated to the villages of Stecken and Steenbroek with considerable loss, and Coehoorn forcing the works at the front of Callo reduced Fort St. Anthony. Opdam broke up the same evening from Bergen-op Zoom, and on the 29th took up a position at the village of Ekeren, a little to the north of Antwerp. The French perceiving that the ill-judged irruptions of Coehoorn and Spaar had broken the connexion that had existed between the three different bodies of the Dutch army and left Opdam without support, seized the opportunity for an attack. Bedmar, instead of suffering himself to be diverted to oppose incursions, which could produce no permanent effect, maintained his position, whilst Marshal Boufflers with 20,000 men, principally cavalry, marched in all haste to Antwerp, which he reached on the 30th, and immediately united with Bedmar. Their combined forces sallied through the northern gates of the city, with equal silence and celerity, and advanced on the road towards Ekeren, but they detached a corps to seize Stabroek, the post which Coehoorn had imprudently quitted, and cut off the road to Lillo. Opdam, although apprised of the march of the French, supinely remained at his post, till it was too late to obviate the effects of his negligence. He rode out to reconnoitre the hostile columns; and discovering his danger, endeavoured to regain his camp, but finding all the avenues to it occupied, he left his troops to their fate, and provided for his

own safety. After wandering the whole day through remote and solitary paths, he reached Breda, carrying himself the disastrous intelligence that his whole force had been cut off. General Schlangeberg, on Opdam's disgraceful flight, assumed the command of the troops, and, availing himself of the dykes and natural defences of the country, effected his retreat to Lillo, by repulsing the detachment that opposed him, with a loss comparatively trifling. The French captured four guns, several mortars, baggage, ammunition, and colours.

#### 7. MARLBOROUGH TAKES HUY AND LIMBURG.

Marshal Villeroy in this interval did not remain idle, nor allow the Duke of Marlborough to do so, but marched with his whole army to Brabant, which obliged the Duke to move likewise: and on the 2nd of July, he encamped between Mott and Balen. On the march he was apprised of the irruptions of Coehoorn and Spaar, and of the disaster that had befallen Opdam. Not discouraged, however, but deeply chagrined by their imprudence, he resumed with new zeal his design of attacking the French lines, and reducing Antwerp. With this view he moved his camp to Thienen on the 5th of July. The Dutch authorities, however, would not share the responsibility attached to such an attempt. Marshal Villeroy, being now joined by Marshals Bonfiers and Bedmar, advanced to Sandhofen. The British commander on the 7th transferred his camp to Vorstlaar. The French still approaching Antwerp established themselves in the strong position of St. Job, and on the 22nd the Duke moved to Brecht, half a league from the French camp; having by importunity extorted the consent of the Dutch government to attack the enemy. In the interval, a violent quarrel had broken out between the Dutch generals, respecting Opdam's affair and Coehoorn, in a fit of resentment, left the army, so that the command devolved on General Schlangeberg. On the 23rd of July, at three in the morning, Marlborough advanced at the head of his cavalry, and arriving at the great heath of Antwerp, made signals to Schlangeberg to join him with the troops from Lillo. Villeroy had declared he would wait for the Duke with a view to give him battle; but, on his approach, the French Marshal setting fire to his camp, retired behind his lines, which were but one hour's march from his camp. At ten o'clock the Dutch troops joined; and the junction being effected, the two armies encamped; that of Marlborough between Camphout and Westdon, and that of Schlangeberg at Capelle. Next morning the generals went under an escort of 4000 horse to view the lines. The French allowed them to come so near as to beat back their outguard. The lines were found to have a fosse twenty--even feet broad with nine feet of water in them, so that it was resolved not to attack them, but that the army should return to the Meuse, and invest Huy. With this object, the allied army formed a camp on the 15th of August at Val Notre Dame, whilst the French army moving in a parallel direction, established themselves in the position of Wasseige. On the 16th Huy was invested, and the trenches opened the ensuing night. In a few days the forts surrounding the place were reduced, and batteries being

raised against the castle, the governor was constrained to surrender on the 27th of August. Again the Duke renewed his entreaty to be allowed to attack the French lines, and a council of war was held at Val Notre Dame, where it was again discussed. The English generals, and those of the auxiliary troops of Denmark, Luneburg, and Hesse, supported Marlborough, but he was again opposed by the Dutch deputies, who expatiated on the risk and danger of such an enterprise. The Duke was made quite ill by this discussion, which lasted six days, but he was obliged to give way.

Notwithstanding the heavy rains which deluged the ground, the allied army was again in motion on the 5th of September, and on the 10th Limburg was invested. The trenches were opened with all diligence, and the batteries began to play on the 25th. A wide breach was soon effected, and on the 27th the governor with a garrison of 1400 men surrendered at discretion. With this success the active operations of the campaign in Flanders closed.

#### 8. MARSHAL VILLARS REPLACED BY THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY.

After Marshal Villars and the Elector of Bavaria had reached Ratisbon, they had a violent quarrel and separated, and the Elector employed himself in reducing some frontier fortresses. In the mean time the Duke of Burgundy was nominated in the place of Villars to the command of the French army in Germany. On the 6th of September he took the command, and on the 2nd of October obtained possession of Old Briegach after thirteen days' open trenches. His royal highness obtained great honour by his skill in this transaction, whilst he charmed the army by his affability and military bearing, but after this success he returned to Versailles. Marshal Tallard now laid siege to Landau, and the Prince of Hesse passed the Rhine at Spire to interrupt it. Tallard would not await him in his lines, but leaving a more guard in the trenches he directed a considerable body under M. de Pracontal, who commanded, to march round on his left, whilst he moved straight on his enemy.

#### 9. BATTLE OF SPIREBACH.

Tallard had the defect of being shortsighted, and it was said of him with reference to this defect and his immoderate ambition, "*Que sa vue étoit courte, mais ses vues étoient longues.*" He was always dependent on the sight of those around him. Accordingly on the 18th of October, M. de Waillae, who was charged with the duty of keeping the Marshal informed of the enemy's movements, mistaking a movement of the allied cavalry on the left for a retreat, M. de Tallard, in his eagerness, ordered his troops to charge, although they were still in column. They penetrated the allies who were in order of battle, and then deploying, checked by their fire the advance of the allied cavalry. The French cavalry then came forward, and drove the enemy back upon their infantry, who accordingly escaped with great difficulty. M. de Pracontal, however, advancing on Spirebach was driven back by the enemy, who held that rivulet successfully, and forced him to go back. The Prince of Hesse

(who afterwards became King of Sweden) distinguished himself by uncommon marks of courage and presence of mind in this combat. Three horses were successively killed under him, but after incredible efforts he was forced to retreat with the loss of some thousands. The French paid dear, however, for their victory, and Pracontal was of the number of the slain; indeed the whole thing was a blunder of Tallard's, and he was fortunate in succeeding at all. It was the only victory he ever gained. At this battle the bayonet is first mentioned, "*arme terrible dont l'usage étoit alors plus familier à nos troupes qu'à celles de l'ennemi.*"<sup>6</sup> After a month's open trenches Landau was recovered by the French on the 14th of November, which secured to them their communication with the forces collected beyond the Black Forest. The campaign in Germany was finished with the reduction of Augsburg by the Elector of Bavaria, who took it in the month of December, and agreed to its being secured by a French garrison.

#### 10. WAR IN ITALY.

The Duke de Vendôme was to have united the French and Italian armies and to have penetrated into the German dominions, but the defection of the Duke of Savoy obstructed the attempt. In order to protect this sovereign from the insults of the French, a body of imperial horse under Visconti immediately joined him, and Count Stahremberg at the head of 15,000 men marched during the worst season of the year, and by roads that were deemed impassable. The French harassed Visconti on his march, and soon surrounded him in many different places on the route, but he surmounted all these difficulties with invincible courage and perseverance, and joined the Duke of Savoy at Canello in time to secure the country of Piedmont.

#### 11. WAR IN SCANDINAVIA.

The war on the shores of the Baltic Sea continued its independent course, neither influencing nor in any degree affecting the interests of the great contest going on between "the Western Powers;" but, at the same time, exhibiting in action the three great qualities of military daring:—the unprincipled ambition of Augustus, King of Poland; the gallant dash and reckless intrepidity of Charles, King of Sweden; and the steady perseverance, and contention with adverse fortune, of the Czar Peter. No commanding military event, however, signalized this year, though none of the three sovereigns were idle in their own peculiar manner. King Augustus, a refugee from his kingdom, kidnapped John Sobieski, who was about to be elected King of Poland in his stead, and Charles XII. fixed upon the Palatine, Stanislaus Leczinski, to occupy the throne in his place. Stanislaus was elected solely at the dictation of Charles, in opposition to the cardinal legate and the whole Polish people; but he was scarcely installed king, when Augustus, at the head of 20,000 men, surprised and almost captured him in his capital at Warsaw. Charles XII. was at this time amusing himself in capturing towns belonging either to

<sup>6</sup> A fearful weapon in the hands of those who could use it against troops who knew it not.

Poland or the Czar. On the 5th of September he invested Leopold, and took it by assault the next day. The Czar Peter was quietly consolidating his empire, and having cleared the way by several conquests this year, laid the foundations of his great capital, St. Petersburg, at the mouth of the Neva, where within five months a Dutch merchant ship arrived in its port to trade—so expeditiously did it rise into existence. Nor did he omit to secure it from the insult of enemies, for he forthwith traced the site of the impregnable fortifications of Cronstadt, which leaving M. Schikoff to construct, he himself repaired to the other extremes of his empire, to the Caspian and the Sea of Azoff, to watch over or defend his shores for his countrymen or from his enemies. It is said that when the Swedes were driven by the Czar from the island on which Cronstadt is now built, they left nothing behind them but a camp-kettle. This now gives the name to the island in Russian, and the French call it L'Isle de Caudron.

## 12. NAVAL WAR.

The confederates did not reap any material advantages from the naval operations of this year. On the 21st of May, Captain Roemer Vlax, commanding the Dutch ship "Moidenberg," with five ships of war and a convoy, engaged five ships of the French navy, carrying seventy or eighty guns each, commanded by the Marquis de Coetlogon, near St. Ubes. The fight began at eleven and lasted till night, and was contested with great firmness and spirit on either side. Vlax's ship was at length obliged to strike, after severely crippling his antagonist, and he himself lost an arm and died. In the end the five Dutch ships were obliged to surrender, but the vessels they convoyed all escaped and ran into Portuguese ports. The French navy had also some successes this year. On the 10th of May, a French squadron under M. de Gabaret beat off an English squadron off Guadaloupe, and on the 10th of August M. de St. Paul took some cruisers off the north of Scotland. M. de Forban made himself formidable to the commerce of the empire in the Adriatic, and M. Duquesne bombarded the town of Aquileia. Sir Cloudesly Shovel sailed from Spithead on the 1st of July, and landed a corps of 2500 marines under Brigadier-General Seymour at Valencia. One object of this armament was to assist the Cevennese, who had been persecuted on account of their religion, and had solicited support, but another and more important one was to endeavour to raise the standard of the Archduke of Austria in the Peninsula. The Admiral went thence to the Duke of Narbonne with some refugees and French pilots, who had concerted signals with the Cevennese; but the Marshal de Montreuil having intimation of their design, took measures to prevent all communication between the fleet and the coast. On November the 16th three of our ships, the "Oxford," "Warspite," and "Lichfield," captured a French fifty-two gun ship, the "Hazardous," Captain De la Rue. In the West Indies Captain Hovenden Walker had been despatched by Sir George Rooke from the Mediterranean, with six ships of the line and transports having four regiments on board, and these



being now joined by some troops under General Codrington, they made a descent upon the French island of Guadaloupe, where they razed the fort, burned the town, and ravaged the country, but were obliged to re-embark with precipitation, on an alarm that the French had landed 900 men to oppose them. Vice Admiral Graydon had been sent out to succeed Benbow, but had not sailed many days, before he fell in with part of the French fleet commanded by Du Casse, very full and richly laden. Captain Cleland, of the "Montagu," engaged the sternmost ship, but was called off by a signal from the Admiral, who proceeded on his voyage without taking further notice of the enemy. At his return to England an inquiry was set on foot as to his conduct, and he was dismissed the service. The only exploit of any success this year was that obtained by Admiral Dilkes, who in the month of July sailed to the coast of France with a small squadron, and took or destroyed about forty ships in the neighbourhood of Granville. The English navy, however, sustained a most severe loss, through a dreadful tempest, on the 27th of November, by which thirteen ships of war were lost, together with 1500 men, including Admiral Beaumont, who was then at anchor in the Downs observing the Dunkirk squadron.

## 1704.

1. THE ARCHDUKE CHARLES PROCLAIMED KING OF SPAIN.—2 WAR IN GERMANY.—3 MARLBOROUGH TAKES THE FIELD.—4 HE ADVANCES INTO THE EMPIRE.—5 THE MARSHALS VILLEROY AND TALLART FOLLOW HIM.—6 BATTLE OF DONAUWORTH OR THE SCHLITENBERG. MARLBOROUGH DEFEATS THE FRENCH.—7 THE ARMIES OF MARSHALS TALLART AND VILLEROY SEPARATE.—8 PRINCE EUGENE JOINS MARLBOROUGH.—9 THE BATTLE OF BLENHEIM OR FLENDEN.—10 CONSEQUENCES OF THE VICTORY.—11 THE WAR IN ITALY.—12 THE WAR IN ITALY.—13 THE REVOLT IN HUNGARY.—14 THE WAR IN SCANDINAVIA.—15 THE WAR IN SPAIN.—16 ADMIRAL SIR G. ROOKE CAPTURES GERVAISE.—17 NAVAL BATTLE OFF MALAGA.

## 1. THE ARCHDUKE CHARLES PROCLAIMED KING OF SPAIN.

The Emperor, having renounced the succession to the throne of Spain for his eldest son Leopold and himself, declared his second son Charles the King of Spain, and the young prince immediately set out from Vienna, taking Holland and England on the way to his dominions. On the 4th of January he sailed from Portsmouth with a great fleet commanded by Sir George Rooke, having on board a body of land forces under the Duke of Schomberg. When the fleet had almost reached Cape Finisterre a violent storm drove it back to Spithead, where it was obliged to remain awaiting a fair wind till the middle of February, when he happily performed the voyage to Lisbon; but the young prince found the court overwhelmed with affliction for the death of the young infanta, to whom he was himself betrothed. He was nevertheless received with great splendour, though he found no preparations made for opening the campaign.

## 2. WAR IN GERMANY.

The prospect offered in the Low Countries and Germany was very gloomy. The court of France had exerted its customary activity in collecting and preparing means for a great and decisive enterprise. Villeroy still commanded in the Netherlands, Tallard with 45,000 men was posted on the Upper Rhine and communicated with Bavaria. The Elector freed from the overwhelming arrogance of Marshal Villars, who was sent by Louis XIV. to exert it upon the hinds of the Cevennese rather than over a friendly sovereign, was encamped with an army of 45,000 men near Ulm, which he occupied with a strong garrison. Marshal Marsin was also in the field at the head of 30,000 men. The French confederated forces thus held the Netherlands with one army, and threatened the circles of Suabia, Franconia, and the Rhine with another; whilst a third in communication with this last, commanded the country watered by the rivers Iller, Inn, and Lech, and held the course of the Danube from its source to the frontier of Austria. The defensive system of Germany was in a most deplorable state. An insurrection in Hungary paralyzed the Emperor's means. Prince Rakoczi, the leader of the malcontents, spread alarm to the very gates of Vienna, the suburbs of which were penetrated by his adherent Karolyi. The Empire was impoverished; the treasury exhausted. The force that could be collected to oppose the Elector of Bavaria did not amount to 20,000 men, and the army of the Empire, which under the command of the Margrave of Baden guarded the lines of Stolhofen, was equally incompetent to maintain so important a barrier of the Empire.

## 3. MARLBOROUGH TAKES THE FIELD.

Marlborough had duly appreciated these perils, and before the close of the preceding campaign had entered into a secret correspondence with the Prince Eugene for the purpose of devising a remedy. The latter boldly penetrated the circle of devotees that surrounded the Emperor, and obtained permission to treat direct with the Duke. Together they formed the bold design of trusting the protection of Holland to the Dutch army, and leaving in the rear the numerous fortresses, and even the armies of the enemy, to hasten with all the disposable troops they could collect, to avert the storm impending over the Emperor's capital. In executing this extensive plan, the Duke had difficulties of no ordinary magnitude to encounter; he had not only to baffle the penetration of a vigilant enemy, but to extort the consent of a divided cabinet in England and beat down the opposition of the Dutch to an enterprise of infinite peril. Marlborough and Eugene matured and carried into effect their plan with astonishing celerity, address, and secrecy. On the Duke rested the great responsibility, as with him it had originated, and it was only by his astonishing personal exertions and influence that it could be accomplished. From the British Parliament the primary object was, to obtain the requisite pecuniary aids. In this having fully succeeded, he quitted London on the 15th of January for the Hague. Here he was obliged to employ all his

art to promote and yet conceal his designs ; for he did not venture to confide to the States General, whose timidity and irresolution had so often thwarted him, the daring scheme, which, if they had known at once, they would have resolutely opposed. He could only obtain their consent to the modified proposal of opening the campaign on the Moselle with the British and foreign auxiliaries, whilst General Overkirk with the Dutch army maintained a defensive system in the Netherlands. But this included the mainspring of his scheme : and he was ably seconded by the Pensionary Heinsius, who promised to use his influence farther, when the intended plan should be developed. At the same time Marlborough induced the Dutch to grant some subsidies, which, with those granted by the British Parliament, were sufficient to set the campaign in motion, not only in Germany but in Italy and Portugal. The Duke then embarked for England again on the 22nd of February. During his short stay in England Marlborough exerted himself in despatching recruits and reinforcements to the Continent and maturing all military arrangements. Conscious how much success depended on secrecy, he professed in England as well as in Holland his design of acting on the Moselle ; and even to the Queen and the minister Godolphin he appears to have made only a partial disclosure of his views. On the 19th of April he again left England for Holland. He still found extreme difficulty in persuading a timid, commercial people, whose state views were confined to temporary safety, to engage even in the modified plan of campaign he had opened to them, which was peculiarly opposed by the provinces of Zealand and Friesland. But he had yet another difficulty to combat. The Margrave of Baden had a plan of his own which he had already laid before the States, and this plan the Duke was obliged to affect to adopt. At length wearied with combating the alarms of some and the opposition of others, he resolved to extort that aid from their fears, which he could not obtain from their public spirit. He developed his plan to Godolphin, and on the 1st of May declared to the deputies his resolution to proceed to the Moselle with the British army, without consulting the States any further, and that he would quit the Hague the following Monday. The event answered his expectations ; his declaration silenced some, and alarmed others, and he obtained powers which he deemed sufficient for the accomplishment of his design. It should here be noted in justification of the Duke, that although what he contemplated was very rash and hazardous, and on that account ought not to have been undertaken without the full sanction of all, yet he was particularly famous for the gift of studying the dispositions and abilities of men : and in Marshal Villeroy, who was opposed to him in the Low Countries, he knew he left a general who would not understand how to avail himself of the occasion to carry the war across the Dutch frontier during his absence in the Empire.

#### 4. HE ADVANCES INTO THE EMPIRE.

Marlborough accordingly took the command of his army at Maastricht on the 10th of May, and on the 19th broke up from Bedburg,

in the duchy of Juliers, the place of rendezvous, with fifty-one battalions and ninety-two squadrons of horse, which were to be joined on the line of march by Prussians, Hessians, Lunenburgers, and eleven Dutch battalions. The French imagined that the intention of the Duke was to begin the campaign with the siege of Traerbach, in order that he might penetrate into France along the Moselle; and in this persuasion gave out that they intended to invest Huy. Marlborough however proceeded, notwithstanding that on the 20th, when in camp at Kerpen, he received an express from Overkirk, urging him to halt, for that Villeroy had crossed the Meuse. The Margrave, on the other hand, sent to the Generalsissimo to hasten his march, because Tallard intended to cross the Rhine; but to neither of these applications did the Duke pay the least regard. He merely halted a single day to quiet the alarms of Overkirk; but he now deemed it expedient to disclose more of his plan to the States General, and assured them that they had nothing to fear on the side of the Netherlands, for that Overkirk would be quite strong enough to cover their lines; and that he was sure his own sudden operations would fully occupy the attention of the enemy. He even ventured to ask for further reinforcements.

The Duke instantly pushed forward, and finding Marshal Tallard had really crossed the Rhine near Brisac on the 12th of May, with 10,000 men, to assist the Elector of Bavaria, he accelerated his march, advanced with his cavalry on the 25th upon Coblenz, leaving General Churchill to follow with his infantry and artillery. He then redoubled his diligence, and crossed the Neckar on the 3rd of June, after having crossed the Mein on the 31st of May. On the 7th he encamped at Erpingen, to wait for his cannon and infantry, which were several marches behind him. In the mean time he learned that the Margrave of Baden, who was under British subsidy, had not only allowed the 10,000 men sent by Tallard to reinforce the Elector of Bavaria to pass him, but had neglected a most favourable opportunity of bringing the Gallo-Bavarians to battle. With 31,000 German troops under him he had permitted the Elector to pass through their main body, and to effect a junction with the French troops, marching with a long line of carriages through the narrow and dangerous pass of Stöckach. Marlborough, however, did not lose heart, but persuaded the Prince of Hesse to put his artillery at his disposal, and took up money to pay his troops, who, notwithstanding their fatigue, were extremely pleased with the expedition.

The Duke's rest at Erpingen was short. He again crossed the Neckar on the 9th of June, and advanced to Mondelsheim, where, on the 10th, he met for the first time Prince Eugene of Savoy, the future partner and rival of his glory. They then advanced to Great Ilppach, where they halted three days to await the arrival of the infantry and artillery, who were still behind.

##### 5. THE MARSHALS VILLEROY AND TALLARD FOLLOW HIM.

The French generals were completely bewildered by Marlborough's advance; Villeroy followed him at a respectful distance

from the Meuse, and Tallard descended to the Lauter, with the view of joining Villeroy, so as to protect Alsace. Marlborough, on hearing these movements, prevailed with Count Wratislaw to endeavour to make Prince Louis of Baden's army available, so as to hinder the Marshal from crossing the Rhine. He himself wrote, "If Marshal de Villeroy can be kept on the other side of the Rhine, we must be contented to suffer him to do what he pleases there whilst we are acting in Bavaria."

#### 6. BATTLE OF DONAUWÖRTH OR THE SCHIELLENBERG. MARLBOROUGH DEFEATS THE ELECTOR.

The Margrave of Baden came up and joined Marlborough at Hipbach on the 13th of June. Of necessity the Prince was admitted to their councils and deliberations, and nearly deranged the whole plan by his differences and jealousies. This Prince was older in rank than Prince Eugene, and insisted on a right of supreme command on the Danube. It was not without difficulty that the obstinate German consented to share the command of the army on alternate days with the English General. The three commanders at length agreed that the two armies should unite under an alternate command, and that Eugene should command a separate force on the Rhine. The Prince accordingly set out for Philipsburg, and the Duke being now joined by the imperial army prosecuted his march to Ebersbach, where he rested two days. Here he learned that Overkirk, ambitious to signalize his command by an important enterprise, had been baffled in an attempt upon the French line, and had lost an excellent opportunity upon the Meuse; also that some Prussian and Suabian corps, who were appointed to join the Duke, had mistaken their instructions and gone another way.

On the 15th, Marlborough, still hampered and delayed by the blunders of his allies, was preparing to cross the ranges of mountains which separated him from the valley of the Danube; and on the 20th he traversed the narrow and dangerous pass of Geislingen with his entire force, and without accident. Beyond this defile he established a communication with the troops of Prince Louis, and on the 22nd the united camp was pitched between Westerstetten and Urspring. On the 24th they advanced to Elchingen, on the Danube, which obliged the Elector of Bavaria to withdraw from his post at Ulm, and retire along the stream to an intrenched camp constructed by himself and his French allies in the preceding campaign, near Dillingen. On the 25th, Marlborough established his head-quarters at Langenau, and took up a position on the Brentz. Here, on the 27th, the combined army was united, consisting of ninety-six battalions and 202 squadrons, with a train of forty-eight pieces of artillery. Whilst he was waiting in this position, and the enemy were strengthening their intrenched camp on the left bank of the Danube, he observed that the Elector had skilfully detached 12,000 men under General d'Arco to occupy the Schellenberg, a commanding height overhanging the important town of Donauwörth, and which covered his own dominions. Marlborough penetrated his design,

and saw that if time were lost, the enemy would be enabled to make an intrenched camp more formidable than the one he occupied among the morasses, so that he insisted on an immediate attack ; but his colleague, the Margrave, hesitated. On the 1st of July, however, when the command came to Marlborough by turn, he defied round the enemy, and directed his steps by Balmerschoffen to the foot of the Schellenberg.

On the 2nd of July, at three o'clock in the morning, a detachment consisting of 6000 foot and thirty squadrons of horse, with three regiments of Austrian grenadiers, preceded the main body under Marlborough in person, and at three o'clock the whole army crossed the Wernitz ; the attacking column advanced about five o'clock, and were saluted by the enemy with a heavy cannonade ; and the Duke was soon made aware of the very formidable nature of the attack he had undertaken. The Schellenberg is a height overhanging Donauwörth and the left bank of the Danube. It is rough and steep, and the summit was protected by an old fort and by intrenchments in rapid progress, though not completed. There lay between him and the summit the Borchberg, a thick wood stretching from the verge of the intrenchments. On the opposite side of the Danube and communicating with the town of Donauwörth and the acclivities of the mountain, by a bridge, was a regular camp of the enemy occupied solely by a strong detachment of cavalry. The Margrave with his Imperialists were still in the rear ; but without waiting for them, Marlborough sent forward the Dutch General Goor and the English General Ferguson, preceded by a forlorn hope under Lord Mordaunt, to commence the attack. The sudden appearance of the allies and the promptitude and decision of Marlborough confounded the Gallo-Bavarian commanders, whilst they doubted whether to defend their unfinished camp or retire. The conflict began. As soon as they arrived within range of grape shot the carnage was dreadful ; General Goor and other officers fell ; a momentary pause ensued and the column was obliged to give way, but other officers rallied the troops and they advanced to the ravine. Here General d'Arco plied them with every gun he could bring to bear upon them, and marched forward some French and Bavarian battalions, who charged with the bayonet, "*au bout de fusil.*" This charge was repulsed by a battalion of the English guards, who stood their ground almost alone, and maintained perfect order, though nearly all their officers were killed. D'Arco continued to ply the assailants all the while very actively, and again the allies began to waver and give way, when General Lumley came up with a body of horse, drove back the enemy, and re-formed the ranks of the allies. The French and Bavarians had however suffered dreadfully ; and at this critical time an accidental explosion spread a panic amongst them at the very moment when the English and Dutch were cheered by a sight of the Imperialists advancing towards the heights, led on by the Margrave in person. Lord John Hay had dismounted his dragoons to charge the enemy on foot when his highness went past them and entered the intrenchment. The French and Bavarians abandoning every part of the work, now fled

in complete disorder down the hill-side, and across the Danube ; they were followed by the allied cavalry and the hill was won. When the unhappy fugitives reached the bridge it broke down under their weight, and hundreds were drowned, amongst whom was the son of Count d'Arco, the French commander. Of the whole number detached to the Schellenberg only 3000 rejoined the Elector : sixteen pieces of artillery, and all the tents and baggage were taken. In this desperate conflict the Duke of Marlborough, by the admission of his opponents, had all the glory of the action, having insisted that the attack should be made at once on the unfinished intrenchments—contrary to the advice of the other generals. Had he deferred it till the next morning, as the Prince of Baden desired, he would have assuredly failed, for the works would by that time have been completed, and Marshal d'Arco would have received the reinforcement, which arrived the very day after the action.

In spite of the shouts of triumph the allied camp this night presented a scene of horror. A heavy rain set in ; 4000 men lay wounded, and 1500 killed. The loss in officers was particularly heavy. Eight generals, eleven colonels, and twenty-six captains were among the slain. The sufferings of the wounded were greatly aggravated by the state of the weather. Marlborough, it is said, had given orders, foreseeing that the camp could not be carried without much bloodshed, to establish an hospital for the wounded, an attention not as yet generally bestowed by military commanders on suffering humanity ; and he desired that particular attention might be paid to the sufferers. Leaving a considerable force to keep possession of the Schellenberg, he withdrew the main body of the army to his camp on the Wernitz, establishing his head-quarters at Obermorgen. On the next day the Bavarians abandoned Donauwörth, of which the confederates took immediate possession, whilst the Elector passed the Danube on his march to the river Lech, lest the victors should cut off his retreat to his own country. On the 5th of July Marlborough crossed the Danube, and on the 7th the whole confederate army passed the deep and rapid river Lech at Gundelfingen, and on this the Bavarian garrison at Neuburg abandoned that important place and retired to Ingoldstadt. On the 10th Marlborough was encamped near Mittelstetten, where he remained a few days to reduce the town of Rain, which surrendered on the 16th. He had now entered the country of the Elector, who lay with his army strongly encamped at Augsburg. Here he was too strongly posted under the cannon of the city to be dislodged or attacked with any prospect of success. Accordingly the allies encamped within a league of the enemy, having Friedberg in their centre, so as to cut off all communication between the Elector and his dominions. The Duke having reduced him to this situation, proposed very advantageous terms of peace, and his subjects, seeing themselves at the mercy of the allies, pressed him to listen to an ambassador from the Emperor, who engaged to obtain for the Elector the restoration of the states and a subsidy, on condition of his breaking off from the French, and furnishing 12,000 men for the service of the Empire. But whilst he hesitated, other influences pre-

vailed. Instead of fulfilling his promise to meet the Emperor's ambassador, he sent his secretary with a message to say, that since the French were now advancing to his succour he could not desert his ally. Marshal Tallard had found means to communicate to the Elector by a woman who passed the mountains, that he had left Friedberg on the 10th of July, and was marching up to join him, and this mainly induced his highness to reject Marlborough's propositions.

#### 7. THE ARMIES OF MARSHALS TALLARD AND VILLEROY SEPARATE.

Through Prince Eugene Marlborough received advices, that as soon as the Marshals Villeroy and Tallard had perceived the design of Marlborough they had agreed to separate their forces, and while the former remained to act on the Rhine, Tallard had again crossed the Rhine at Kehl, and was now passing through the Black Forest in order to unite his forces with those of the Elector of Bavaria.

#### 8. PRINCE EUGENE JOINS MARLBOROUGH.

Prince Eugene had been directed to divide his army when Tallard crossed the Rhine, and not to lose sight of that Marshal. As soon, therefore, as he learned the march of the French towards the passes of the Black Forest, he broke up from the lines of Stollhofen, merely leaving thirty battalions and twenty-seven squadrons under the command of the Count de Nassau to defend them and observe Marshal Villeroy : with the rest, consisting of eighteen battalions and seventy squadrons, he made a march parallel to the French, until he reached the plains of Hochstätt. Marshal Tallard offered battle, but the Prince resolutely refused to engage, and keeping the Danube between himself and his adversary, he brought up safely his 18,000 men nearly at the same time that Tallard effected his junction with the Elector. Eugene was, however, at this time far apart from the confederate forces, having the Danube between him and them, and might have been readily crushed by an enterprising enemy.

Marlborough broke up from Friedberg and moved by Aicha towards Neuburg ; on the 6th of August he encamped on the L'aar, near Schirobenhausen. Here Prince Eugene galloped into his camp alone and almost unknown, to concert measures with the English commander. One of their first resolutions was to get rid of the conflicting voice and authority of the Margrave of Baden. Since the battle of Donauwörth great misunderstandings had prevailed between him and Marlborough. A feud was the consequence ; which spread through the army and even to the States General, and might have proved very dangerous. Fortunately the Margrave now consented to go with twenty-three battalions and thirty-one squadrons to the siege of Ingoldstadt, a maiden fortress, the possession of which was indispensable to keep a footing in Bavaria. The Elector had been joined by Tallard at Biberach on the 5th, and on the 9th these commanders advanced to Dillingen with the evident intention of overwhelming Eugene's little army. On the same day the Duke was at Exheim. Eugene fell back behind the Kessel, and the mass of the forces under



Marlborough were put in motion to re-cross the Danube to be on the same side of the stream with those of Eugene, and to effect a junction if possible. The operation was exceedingly difficult, but was conducted with admirable skill and forethought. On the 10th the Duke pitched his camp between Mittelstettin and Peuchingen, close to Rain; on the same day he threw across the Danube twenty battalions and twenty-eight squadrons to reinforce Eugene, who was now at Donauworth, whither Marlborough prepared to follow with his whole army, as soon as he should be assured that the Elector and the French Marshals had passed the Danube with all their forces. On the 11th, at ten at night, the junction was effected, and the confederate army consisted of sixty-five battalions and 160 squadrons. The French made a boast of superiority of numbers, but Marlborough numbered 52,000 men and fifty-two pieces of artillery. The enemy had 56,000 or 57,000 of all arms, and some said 60,000. On the 12th the baggage and artillery joined, and the Prince and Duke rode out to reconnoitre in the direction of Schweningen. Presently, on ascending the tower of Tapfheim church, they discovered the enemy's quartermasters marking out a camp between Blindheim and Lutzingen, and they instantly resolved to give battle and commence the attack before the confusion inseparable from a change of camps should be over. The enemy's forces were advantageously posted on a hill near Hochstädt; their right wing was covered by the Danube and the village of Blindheim; their left by the village of Lutzingen; and the front by a rivulet, the banks of which were steep, and the bottom marshy. Some officers seeing the superiority of the enemy's forces and their advantageous position, ventured to remonstrate with Marlborough, but he replied, "A battle is absolutely necessary, and I rely on the bravery and discipline of the troops to make amends for our disadvantages." He was further stimulated to the hazard of the undertaking by an intercepted letter from Marshal Villeroy to the Elector, giving him to understand that he had received orders to ravage the country of Würtemberg, and thus to intercept all communication between the Rhine and the allied army. In the evening orders were given for a general action on the morrow, Marlborough retired to sleep, and arose early to prayers, receiving the sacrament from Dr. Hare, his chaplain.

### 9. THE BATTLE OF BLENHEIM OR BLINDHEIM.

It has been considered by French writers of consideration, that the great fault of the French at Blenheim was fighting the battle at all; because having failed to prevent the junction of Eugene and Marlborough, their obvious policy was to let the Duke suffer the consequences of his great imprudence in overmarching his supplies; and that he would have been very much put to it to supply his large army if, instead of fighting, the French army had harassed and hovered around him in a country not over friendly to him or his troops. But having committed this fault, their next was, their not understanding the absolute necessity that Marlborough was in to fight a battle. Yet so perniciously did they deceive themselves in this particular, that

when he approached so near as he did on the night of the 12th, they sent no troops forward to watch his movements ; and on the morning of the 13th, allowed their cavalry to go out to forage as usual : nay, even when the generals came forward to reconnoitre their position under a heavy escort of cavalry, they persuaded themselves that it was a mere flank movement to cover the march of the allies on Nördlingen, where they had established a magazine. The French army were, therefore, in a manner surprised into a general action. The great fault of all, however, was the divided command of the two Marshals. Both posted their troops as if they had their armies on a parade—the infantry in the centres, and the cavalry on the flanks of each ; the consequence of which was, that in the centre there was a gap between the two armies, and thus this important part of their line was entirely occupied by cavalry, leaving the infantry wide apart from any possibility of supporting each other. Tallard had his head-quarters at Blindheim ; Marsin at Oberglauh ; and the Elector at Lutzingen.

The ground on which the celebrated battle took place is easily described. From the Schellenberg, where the conflict of the 2nd of July took place, to Tapfheim, where the allies were encamped on the night of the 12th of August, the mountains press close upon the Danube, but after passing the Kessel, near which Tapfheim is situated, the wooded hills recede from the river for seven or eight English miles in length, till they melt away altogether a few miles below Hochstädt. This *quasi* plain, which was the scene of the events we have now to describe, varies from half a mile to three miles in breadth, is intersected by many deep and rapid streams from the mountains, and the whole space is occupied by cultivation, and dotted with towns, villages, and dwellings.

On the memorable 13th of August, at two or three in the morning, the allied armies moved forward from their camp, leaving their tents standing, and crossed the Kessel in eight columns. The two brigades of Rowe and Ferguson formed a ninth column, which advanced along the great high road under the command of Lord Cutts. The Gallo-Bavarian army was drawn up in front of their tents according to the order of encampment. Their line extended along the crest of the eminence, from the village of Blindheim on the Danube to the rear of Oberglauh, and from thence to the wooded mountains about Lutzingen, having the little river Nebel and its tributaries along the whole extent of its front. The morning was hazy, and it was seven o'clock before the fog dispersing showed the advance of the allied columns. Signal guns were fired to recall the foragers, the advanced pickets were called in, and the French army, in much confusion, prepared to receive the attack of the allies.

When Marlborough and Eugene made their first reconnoissance of the enemy, they were accompanied by the Prussian General Natzmer, who had been made prisoner on this spot in the battle fought the preceding year between Marshal Villars and General Styrum, and who was, therefore, acquainted with the local peculiarities. They perceived at once the vicious arrangement of the armies of the two Marshals, and agreed that whilst Eugene should move to the right, to

attack and turn the left flank of Marshal Marsin and the Elector's army, Marlborough should move cavalry and infantry across the river Nebel, and force himself between the two armies in the centre ; while, at the same time, every effort should be made to carry the villages of Blindheim and Oberglauh. They observed that the ground on their side the stream near Unterglauh was sufficiently high to protect the passage of the stream ; that Blindheim and Oberglauh were too distant from each other to sweep the intervening space with a cross fire ; and that the enemy's cavalry on the ridge were too remote from the rivulet to obstruct their passage. On taking leave of his colleague to direct his separate attack, Eugene promised to give notice as soon as he was ready to attack, that the battle might begin on both wings at the same instant. While Marlborough waited for this communication, he sent forward officers to sound the Nebel and indicate the spots that were most passable, and the pontoons were brought forward for the construction of five bridges, whilst a stone bridge that had been damaged by the enemy was repaired. These troops then marched off to their several stations. General Churchill drawing up his infantry in two lines with intervals for the passage of the cavalry, moved down to Weilheim to be ready to pass the Nebel ; then Rowe's and Ferguson's brigade of the British troops, with one of Hessians and one of Hanoverians, and the cavalry of Ross and Woods filed through Schweningen, destined for the attack of Blindheim, under the command of Lord Cutts.

The French prepared for the contest with their accustomed activity and energy. Marshal Tallard confided to Lieutenant-General de Clérambault the defence of the village of Blindheim, into which he sent twenty-seven battalions and twelve squadrons ; the palisades round the gardens were strengthened, and boards, carts, and gates barricaded the streets and houses ; the mills and adjacent houses, calculated to favour the approach of an enemy, were set on fire. To the left of the village he posted Zurlauben and his cavalry, with directions to charge the allies when they should have crossed the Nebel. To the left Marshal de Marsin occupied Oberglauh and Lutzingen with strong bodies of troops. The artillery was distributed with judgment under the command of the Marquis de la Fresellière. Four twenty-four pounders were planted above Blindheim. Four eight-pounders were posted to bear on the road towards Unterglauh ; another battery of twenty-four pounders was posted between Oberglauh and Unterglauh, and the rest were disposed along the posts of the different brigades.

Prince Eugene's columns were soon seen stretching along the elevated ground behind Berghausen, but he was obliged to make a considerable circuit, to avoid the destructive fire that was opened upon him ; and he had great difficulty in bringing up his artillery, for the ground was intersected by ravines and rivulets, and covered with brushwood, while a heavy cannonade was opened from every part of the enemy's right wing upon his advance. Marlborough ordered Colonel Blood to plant some guns upon the heights above Unterglauh, as the large masses, that were assembling above that village to pass the

bridges across the Nebel, had already excited the attention of Marshal Tallard. That general, who now saw the attack that was meditated from that quarter, sent off an aide-de-camp to the Elector and Marshal Marsin, requesting that their reserve might be moved towards the centre; but his proposal was declined, from an apprehension that their whole force would be required to withstand the attack of Eugene. Marlborough was impatient at the long delay that intervened without hearing from the Prince, and sent repeated messengers to hasten his movements; but at length, about midday, an aide-de-camp arrived to say that the Prince was ready in position, and orders were sent in every direction to proceed to the attack.

About one Lord Cutts commenced the attack on Blindheim. The troops descended to the Nebel under a heavy fire of grape, deliberately advanced towards the enclosures, and the gallant General Rowe, who commanded the leading brigade, struck his sword into the palisades before he gave the word to fire. In a few minutes one-third of the brigade were killed or wounded, and Rowe himself amongst the number. Discouraged and broken, they fell back and were charged by three squadrons of *gens-d'armes*, who seized their colours, but were repulsed by the Hessians, who recovered the colours and drove back the assailants. Lord Cutts instantly sent to General Lumley to send him up some cavalry, and five squadrons, under Colonel Palm, crossed the Nebel. These charged and drove back the French horse, but were so galled by the musketry that they must have gone back but for the brave Hessians. The brigades of Ferguson and Healsen advanced to the left of the village, but could make no impression upon it. At length Marlborough perceived that Blindheim was occupied by a more powerful body than he had anticipated, and ordered Lord Cutts to convert his attack into a feigned one, in order to prevent any troops from being detached against him.

It was past four o'clock when Marlborough and Churchill had crossed the Nebel: the enemy observed them struggling for a passage, and brought guns from their right to enfilade their crowded columns. It would have been well for Tallard if he had brought forward troops to prevent the passage of the stream, but with great superciliousness he remarked, when they brought him word that Marlborough had bridged the stream with pontoons, "Oh! M. le Duc, if you want pontoons you shall have mine, if you will come and fetch them." Nay, so obstinate was he in undervaluing the importance of this step, that it is related further that he sat down coolly with his staff to his repast while the allies were crossing, and then rode off to the left wing to see what M. de Marsin was doing with Eugene. Zurlauben, the moment he saw the allied troops across the Nebel, attacked them, before they could disengage themselves. Several squadrons were driven back to the edge of the rivulet, but the infantry were sufficiently formed to repel the enemy's cavalry by a heavy fire. The French Marshal at length returned and brought forward his second line of cavalry, and two battalions of the royal brigade, which, filing to the left of Unterglauch, opened a galling fire on the advancing troops; but notwithstanding the concentrated action of the enemy's

troops upon the fords the broken squadrons rallied, and by the exertions of General Lumley the whole passage of the Nebel was effected. Hompesch with the Dutch cavalry was now in line, and the Duke of Wurtemberg with the Danes and Hanoverians spread towards Oberglauh. These last were charged by the right wing of Marsin and driven back across the Nebel ; but the Prince of Holstein-Beck opportunely came up in support with eleven battalions above Oberglauh. Scarcely, however, did the head of this column appear beyond the rivulet, when the Irish brigade in the French service charged them, under the command of the Marquis de Blainville, who was killed, while the two foremost battalions were cut to pieces, and the Prince of Holstein was mortally wounded and taken prisoner. Still further to the right, the Danes and Prussians under the Prince of Anhalt carried a battery, and spread destruction on the hostile infantry, but the Bavarian cavalry coming up repulsed the imperial horse and fell on the flank of the Prussian infantry, recovered the battery and forced them to retreat. Anhalt, who commanded the infantry, rushed into the thickest of the combat, animated the men and rallied them in the wood. Eugene rallying the cavalry led them again to the charge. They were at first successful, but getting entangled between the cross fires from Oberglauh and Lutzingen, they fell back in disorder across the Nebel. Eugene again restored them to order and recrossed the rivulet. Four times did he rally his horse, who were at length so discouraged that their onset was feeble and undecisive. Leaving them in despair to the Prince of Hanover and the Duke of Wurtemberg, he flew to his infantry, who still maintained their ground with incredible resolution. Stung by the prospect of defeat, Eugene exposed his person every where : he had a horse killed under him, and he says of himself, "*Un dragon Bavaarois me coucha en joue ; un de mes Danois le prévint heureusement.*" In this awful suspense when both parties were so close as to enable them to see each other in the face, the Elector of Bavaria was seen emulating the conduct of Eugene, and riding from rank to rank to encourage his troops. It was five o'clock, and neither the Prince on the right nor Lord Cutts on the left had made any impression upon the enemy. The battle drew to a crisis. Marlborough in the centre had marshalled his cavalry and infantry in such a manner as to leave intervals between the battalions, that they might be easily brought up to the support of one another. Tallard could only bring up to oppose him nine battalions of infantry from his second line, for it was one of the capital faults he committed in this action, to lock up all his infantry in the villages. Amidst a tremendous fire of cannon and musketry the allies moved up the ascent : they attained the summit of the hill, but failed to break the enemy. On the other hand the French cavalry tried in vain to break the English columns. Marshal Tallard, who had gone towards the left to see the course of events in that quarter, came back as soon as he heard that his centre was attacked, and placed himself at the head of a charge of his cavalry, where he was wounded, and his son fell dead by his side. In the confusion, and with his infirmity of sight,

he here mistook the allied cavalry for his own and was taken prisoner. The nine battalions of infantry could no longer stand the force opposed to them, and at this moment no one was recognized as commanding in the French army, who could take on himself to order up some of the twenty-seven battalions which were in Blindheim. Marlborough seized the opportunity to order a new charge of his cavalry, which broke the French horse, and their infantry, abandoned by them, were cut to pieces; here Zurlauben, who had distinguished himself throughout the day with great gallantry, was killed. The right wing of Marsin's cavalry fell back to avoid a flank attack, and the allies established themselves in the centre of the French lines. The hostile cavalry fled on every side back towards Höchstädt, and thirty squadrons in the direction of Sondersheim and the Danube; Hompesch was detached after the first, whilst Marlborough himself pursued the latter and literally drove them into the river. Numbers were killed, and taken prisoners, and hundreds were drowned.

From the verge of the road above Lutzingen, to which Eugene had hastened after his last attack, he observed the right of Marsin's army filing towards the rear, and the Bavarian infantry moving into the village. Rightly judging that a tide in affairs had occurred and that the troops opposed to him were preparing to retreat, he, about seven o'clock, determined to renew the conflict with his infantry, and soon saw flames break forth from Lutzingen and Oberglauch, which proved that the enemy had abandoned those villages. His troops moved along the skirt of the wood bearing on the flank of the retreating army, which was mistaken in the dusk by Marlborough for the Bavarian portion of it. Having recalled Hompesch from the road to Höchstädt, he ordered him to charge these troops who were filing on Morseilingen; and thus, by one of those common accidents which occur in the confusion of every battle at the fall of night, he might probably have finished with the ruin of Eugene's army, as he had now annihilated that of the Elector and Marshal Marsin.

The French troops still remained in the village of Blindheim. Their commander, De Clérambault, had gone out to obtain orders from Marshal Tallard, but had been carried away by the fugitives, and was drowned in the Danube, so that they were without a chief. Three times and in three different directions they endeavoured to rally, and escape, but they were hampered by the very means they had employed for their defence: they could not form in order of battle, and on every side, amongst the carts and palisades, they encountered a victorious cavalry commanded by Lumley and Ross, who compelled them to take refuge again behind their houses and enclosures. M. de Blanzac placing himself at the head of the regiments of Artois and Provence, and some others made a regular sortie, but were encountered by Lord Cutts and Lord Orkney, who drove them back and entered the village with them. M. Denouville then went forward, and returning with Lord Orkney by his side, proposed to the troops to accept his offers of capitulation. With despair and indignation, the soldiers submitted to their fate, though the regiment of Navarre burned their colours to save them

from capture ; and twenty-four battalions and twelve squadrons (or 11,000 effective men) surrendered themselves prisoners of war and thus terminated the struggle of this eventful day.

The victory was no sooner decided than Marlborough despatched his aide-de-camp, Colonel Parke, to England with this brief note, written in pencil on a slip of paper, torn out of a memorandum book, and which is still preserved in the family archives of the Duke of Marlborough. It is addressed to the Duchess :—

“ August 13th, 1704.

“ I have not time to say more but to beg you will give my duty to the Queen and let her know her army has had a glorious victory. “ Monsieur Tallard and two other generals are in my coach, and I am following the rest. The bearer, my aide-de-camp, Colonel Parke, will give her an account of what has passed : I shall do it in a day or two by another more at large. “ MARLBOROUGH.”

The cabinet at Windsor Castle in which her Majesty Queen Anne was sitting, when this note was presented to her, remained known by tradition until George IV. made it part of the new library of that royal residence. She received the news with piety and gratitude. The tidings of the defeat reached Versailles in the midst of rejoicings for the birth of the King's great-grandson, and no one dared to announce it to Louis XIV., until at length Madame de Maintenon took courage to tell him. The battle being ended, the two commanders visited Marshal Tallard at the quarters of the Prince of Hesse. They found him very dejected, dispirited by defeat and by the death of his son, and wounded in one of his hands. He spoke immediately on the events of the day, and told the Duke that if his grace had deferred his visit (meaning his attack) a day longer, the Elector and he would have waited on him first. The Marshal congratulated the Duke that he had overcome the best troops in the world. “ I hope, sir,” replied his grace, “ you will except those troops by whom they have been conquered.” Marlborough gave orders for dressing the wounded, and putting them under cover before he snatched a short interval of repose in a little water-mill near Höchstädt, in which he took up his headquarters. In the night he ordered his army to be drawn up with the left extending to Sonderen and the right towards Morselingen, and that the soldiers should lie all night under arms. The soldiers quickly possessed themselves of all that was left in the enemy's camp, and found no unwelcome booty in tents to cover them and food to eat. Such, says Voltaire, was the celebrated battle, which the French called the battle of Höchstädt, the English Blenheim, and the Germans Plintheim or Blindheim—the latter naturally enough the most correctly. It has no pretensions whatever to pass by the name of Höchstädt, with which the battle had nothing whatever to do ; and although the voice of fame has immortalized the name of Blenheim without any question whether it be a real name, or, what may more properly be called, a *nom de guerre*, yet there is, in fact, no such village.

#### 10. CONSEQUENCES OF THE VICTORY.

The consequences of this battle were immense. The loss of the

allies was nearly 5000 killed and 8000 wounded, but that of the confederates cannot be so easily calculated. Tallard's army was wholly dispersed and ruined, and of the whole force of 60,000 which went into action, not above 20,000 were ever reassembled. The poor Elector of Bavaria, who might have saved himself but from a regard to his obligations to the King of France, lost his electorate, and fled to Brussels, where he met the Elector of Cologne, who had lost his likewise; in retreating from the field of battle he said to Marshal de Marsin, "I have sacrificed my possessions for your King, would I had also sacrificed my life." The Elector sent for his wife to come to Ulm, but Marlborough and Eugene advanced to Sefelingen in the neighbourhood of that fortress, and entered into negotiations with the Electress to surrender it, and that she herself might remain undisturbed at Munich. During the period that the victorious generals remained in this camp, they were joined by the Margrave of Baden, whom they persuaded to raise the siege of Ingoldstadt, in which he had made some progress, and convert it into a blockade, whilst detachments should be left under the command of General Thomgen for the reduction of Ulm and other places garrisoned by the Gallo-Bavarian forces. In the meanwhile the confederate forces were to hasten after the enemy and to carry the war into the country beyond the Rhine. On the 28th, Marlborough broke up from the camp at Sefelingen; on the 2nd of September he passed the Neckar at Laufen; and on the 7th the whole army had crossed the Rhine—the Margrave and Prince Eugene being with them. On the 9th they came up with the remains of the Gallo-Bavarian army, now under the command of Villeroy, and crossed the Queich, the enemy still retiring before the confederates until they reached a position behind the Lauter. Prince Louis marched on the 12th to invest Landau, which was to be besieged by the Margrave, while Marlborough and Eugene covered the operations. Taking into account the consternation that prevailed all over France, nothing could be more impolitic than this measure, which gave the enemy time for recovering and recruiting their forces. It was, however, a proposal on which the Prince of Baden insisted with uncommon obstinacy, not without the imputation of bad faith. Marlborough and Eugene were encamped at Croon Weissenberg, and Marshal Villeroy advanced his army towards Landau as if he intended to attack the confederates. Landau was again invested on the 12th, and capitulated on honourable conditions on the 23rd of November, after having been defended with obstinate valour. The hereditary Prince of Hesse-Cassel invested the castle of Traerbach in the beginning of November, and in about six weeks this place also capitulated. Ulm also surrendered to Thomgen even before the trenches were opened.

The English general, who was at least as able in negotiations and court proceedings as he was in war, now repaired to Berlin to engage the King of Prussia to suspend certain claims he had upon the Dutch; to enter into the confederacy more earnestly; and to furnish 8000 men to serve under Prince Eugene in Italy in the next campaign—all which his Majesty promised; and the Duke thence proceeded to Hanover, where, as in all other places, he was received



with great distinction. From Hanover he went to the Hague, where he was congratulated by the States General on his victories at Schellenberg and Blenheim, and was as much considered as if he had become their Stadtholder. Before Marlborough returned home, he received from the Emperor Leopold a letter couched in the warmest terms of acknowledgment, and announcing to him in form his elevation to a place among the Princes of the Empire.

He arrived at the palace of St. James in the middle of December, bringing with him Marshal Tallard and some others of his most distinguished prisoners, with the other trophies of his great victory. On the 15th, the day after his arrival, the Duke took his seat in the House of Peers, and was welcomed by the Lord Keeper with an address of congratulation. On the same day a committee of the House of Commons waited upon him with the thanks of their house for his glorious services. On the 3rd of January the trophies of his victories were removed from the Tower, where they were first deposited, to Westminster Hall. Amidst the thunder of artillery and the shouts of an exulting multitude, the procession moved through the streets of London in solemn pomp, and, traversing the Green Park, was viewed by the Queen from one of the windows of the palace. Since the defeat of the Spanish Armada, so triumphant a spectacle had never gladdened the eye of a British public; nor was the effect unworthy of the occasion; the pulse of the nation beat high with joy, and the names of Anne and Marlborough were mingled amidst the testimonies of tumultuous exultation which burst from all ranks and orders of society. Queen Anne sent a message to the House of Commons that she purposed to convey to the Duke of Marlborough and his heirs the interest of the Crown in the manor and honour of Woodstock, with the hundred of Wootton; and requested their aid in making the transfer. Her Majesty accompanied the grant with an order to the Board of Works to erect at the expense of the Crown a splendid palace, to bear the name of Blenheim; but the Duke did not live long enough to see the completion of this splendid monument to his fame—which, indeed, could never have been completed at all, but for the increasing energy, and undiminished devotion to his person, of his celebrated wife, Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough.

### 11. THE WAR IN FLANDERS.

In Flanders nothing of moment occurred during this campaign. Overkirk made two attempts upon the French lines, and actually penetrated them, but could not maintain the footing he had gained; and Baron Spaar bombarded Bruges and Namur with 9000 Dutch troops. On the other hand, the Elector of Bavaria, who had fled to Brussels after his defeat, assembled all his troops at Tirlemont, and formed a scheme for surprising the Dutch general; but the French court, apprehensive of his temerity, sent Villeroy to watch him, and the Marshal finding him intent on giving battle, represented the impossibility of success, and at length flatly refused to march, producing the French King's order to avoid an engagement.

### 12. THE WAR IN ITALY.

In Italy the French met with no opposition. The Duke of Savoy was obliged to lie inactive. He witnessed the Duke de Vendôme reduce Vercelli and Ivre, and undertake the siege of Verac, whilst he posted his little army on the other side the Po at Crescentino, where he had a bridge of communication, by which he occasionally supplied the place with fresh troops and provisions, so that it held out five months against all the efforts of the French general.

### 13. THE REVOLT IN HUNGARY.

Marlborough had employed his influence and address to bring about a reconciliation between the Emperor and his revolted subjects in Hungary, whose formidable insurrection, promoted by the French, had embarrassed the operations of the present campaign; and the ministers of the allies pressed the Emperor to enter into a negotiation for a peace with the rebels. Conferences were accordingly held on the subject, but on the one side Ragotski aimed at the principality of Transylvania, which the Emperor would not relinquish; and Leopold, who might have listened to terms in the moment of danger, would give ear to none when the danger was passed. He was not a little alarmed by a revolution at the Ottoman Porte, until the new Sultan sent him an assurance that he would give no assistance to the malcontents in Hungary.

### 14. THE WAR IN SCANDINAVIA.

In Poland the diet assembled by the command of Charles of Sweden, who had by his victories deposed King Augustus, elected Stanislaus, Leczinski, Palatine of Posnania, King of Poland, whilst Charles still maintained his army in the kingdom—more intent upon humbling his adversary than upon the government of his own dominions, or the progress of Peter the Great, who recovered Narva by assault after a regular siege, ravaged Livonia, and made incursions into Sweden itself.

### 15. THE WAR IN SPAIN.

A considerable part of the contest of this year found a theatre in the Peninsula; where an English force, under the command of the Duke of Schomberg and the Earl of Galway, consisting of 6000 English and Dutch troops, had been sent to assist the Archduke Charles, now called King Charles, in his bold enterprise of invading Spain and dethroning Philip, grandson of Louis XIV. Great preparations had been expected on the part of the King of Portugal, now a member of the confederacy; but the Portuguese ministry favoured the French in secret; and the people were averse to heroics; so that upon the arrival of the King and the allied troops at Lisbon, they found nothing prepared, and were obliged to distribute themselves among the garrisons on the frontiers. Here they were menaced by a force under the Marshal Duke of Berwick, natural son of James II., by the Duke of Marlborough's sister, and now a grandee of Spain, and in command of the troops of the Bourbon King. The

King of Portugal had promised to enter Spain with Charles by the middle of May, but was not ready till the beginning of June, when they reached Santarem. Berwick repaired to Alcantara on the 3rd of May, and advanced with an army composed of twenty-five battalions and forty squadrons. In two days he captured Salvatierra, and without delay Segura, Monsanto, and Castelo Branco surrendered to them. Here he heard that General Fagel was encamped with two Dutch battalions seven or eight leagues distant, near Sobreira, and he forthwith detached a force under the Marquis de Thong to surprise them; which succeeded so effectually that all but Fagel himself were captured. He then pushed on to Portalegre, in which he captured two Portuguese and one English battalion. The Portuguese General, Las Minas (who shared the command with Lord Galway), with about eighteen battalions and as many squadrons, roused himself, started from Almeida, retook Monsanto, and afterwards defeated a body of French and Spaniards, commanded by Ronquillo, near the river Zarza, and drove them to Alcantara. Berwick advanced to their assistance, and on the retreat of the allies sat down before Castelo Da Vide. At the end of four days the governor offered to capitulate, but the English battalion in garrison resisted and tried to take the castle, but were at last obliged to submit to the terms conceded to the Portuguese governor. The whole army of the allies in Spain at this juncture was composed of thirty-six battalions, of which ten were English and Dutch, and of fifty squadrons.

Berwick had under his command eighteen weak battalions and thirty-seven weak squadrons, and was very badly supplied with provisions, but he was strongly posted with this force on the banks of the Agueda, so that nothing could be attempted against him. On the other hand he could do nothing in consequence of the events that were occurring in the south of the Peninsula. The great fault of the allied generals in Spain was in dividing their forces, one on one side the Tagus and one on the other, without even the precaution of a bridge of boats; but, besides this, Schomberg disagreed with the Dutch and Portuguese commanders, and this want of concert ruined the cause. He was, therefore, recalled, and was succeeded by Lord Galway in the command of the allied troops. This general was a Frenchman by birth, and thus by a singular chance the English were now headed by a French and the French by an English general.

#### 16. ADMIRAL SIR GEORGE ROOKE CAPTURES GIBRALTAR.

Sir George Rooke after landing King Charles at Lisbon sent a squadron to cruise off Cape Spartel, under the command of Rear-Admiral Dilkes, who on the 12th of March took three Spanish ships of war bound from St. Sebastian to Cadiz. Pressed by King Charles, who had been given to believe that the people of Barcelona and Catalonia would declare in his favour, Rooke took on board the Prince of Hesse-Darmstadt, who had been Viceroy of Catalonia, and sailed for Barcelona, where he invited the governor to declare for King Charles. The governor refused, and by the advice of Hesse-Darmstadt, who assured him that the inhabitants would oblige the governor to sur-

render, Rooke disembarked some marines, and fired a few bomb-shells into the place ; but the governor was firm, and there was no sign of rising, so that the marines were re-embarked, and Rooke sailed away. Off Toulon he learned that vast preparations were making there to equip a fleet to join that of Brest, under the command of the Count de Toulouse, a natural son of Louis XIV. On this he returned towards the Straits, where he was joined on the 16th of June by a good squadron under Sir Cloudesly Shovel. On the 17th of July, when about seven leagues to the eastward of Tetuan, a council of war was called on board the "Royal Catharine," wherein it was represented that Gibraltar, one of the most important fortresses in the world, was at that moment weakly garrisoned, and it was resolved that an attempt should be made to carry it by a sudden assault.

On the 21st of July the whole fleet came to anchor in Gibraltar Bay. The marines, amounting to about 2000 men, were placed under the command of the Prince of Hesse-Darmstadt, and landed on that narrow, short, sandy isthmus, known by the name of the Neutral Ground. Having thus cut off all communications with the country, the Prince summoned the Spanish governor, who, weak as he was, declared that he would defend the place to the last. On the following day Rooke ordered Rear-Admirals Byng and Vander Dussen to range their ships in line and batter the works, but the wind blew so hard, that they could not get into position and order. On the 23rd, however, soon after daybreak, the ships lay with their broadsides to the works. Rooke gave the signal, and the cannonading was commenced with tremendous effect, and kept up so briskly that in five or six hours the enemy were driven from many of their guns at a place called the South Mole Head ; which being perceived by the Admiral, he ordered Captain Whittaker to arm all the boats and assault that quarter. Captain Hicks and Captain Jumper, who happened to be nearest the Mole, immediately manned their pinnaces and landed, sword in hand, followed by their men, and by those in the other boats. The Spaniards sprung a mine, by which two lieutenants and about forty private soldiers were killed, and sixty wounded. The assailants, nevertheless, took possession of the great platform, and kept their ground until the arrival of Captain Whittaker and the rest of the seamen, who stormed a redoubt (now the eight-gun battery) between the Mole and the town. On the 24th the governor, Don Diego de Salinas, capitulated, and our men threw open the gates which led to the isthmus for the entrance of the Prince of Hesse and the marines. The garrison, consisting at most of 150 men, marched out with the honours of war. On entering the town Darmstadt hoisted the Spanish standard and proclaimed King Charles, but Sir George Rooke interposed and took possession of the place in the name of the Queen of England. The fortress was found very strong and was well provided with ammunition and military stores. This most important conquest was achieved with the loss of about sixty killed and 216 wounded on the part of the English. Thus was carried in three days the famous old rock which has since sustained sieges of many months' duration ; a place so strong by nature and so fortified by modern science, by successive excavations, and other

works, that it has baffled more than once the united power of France and Spain ; and can scarcely be taken so long as England remains sufficiently strong at sea to keep it well provisioned and garrisoned. Gibraltar has ever since remained in the possession of the English, and is of the utmost advantage for annoying an enemy in war, or sheltering the British trade in peace.

#### 17. THE NAVAL BATTLE OFF MALAGA.

A sufficient garrison being left under the Prince of Hesse as governor, the admirals returned to Tetuan ; and on the 9th of August despatched the united fleets of Brest and Toulon, all clean fitted, and out of harbour in excellent condition, fifty-two in number, commanded by the Count de Toulouse. The allied fleet numbered in all, English and Dutch, fifty-three ships of the line, but they were foul and thinly manned, having been long at sea, and not only weakened by ordinary casualties, but by the abstraction of nearly all the marines to form the garrison of Gibraltar. Rooke, however, determined to engage, and on Sunday, the 13th of August, (the same day on which *Blenheim* was fought,) he came up with the enemy about eleven leagues to the northward of Malaga. The battle began at ten o'clock by Rooke bearing down on the French, who were formed in line. The first to engage were the Count de Toulouse in the "*Foudroyant*" and Rooke in the "*Royal Catharine*;" and the French assert that their ship beat off the English. Admiral de Villette engaged Sir C. Shovel, and was set on fire and obliged to leave the line, but was not pursued ; Admiral Belleisle's ship shared the same fate. About two o'clock the French crowded all sail to force through the English line, but failed, and their van gave way. Byng and Bilkes in the "*St. George*" and "*Shrewsbury*" were both obliged to quit the line for want of shot. The fight was maintained at long shots until night set in, when Toulouse bore away to leeward under a light breeze. On the following morning the fleets were still in sight of each other and the wind favourable for the French attack, but they made no use of their advantage, and on the 15th they sailed away followed by Rooke, who would have renewed the combat had he been able. Not a ship was taken on either side, but the loss of human life was great. The loss of the English and Dutch was computed at nearly 3000 men ; but as the French had lost 200 officers, it was assumed that they must have lost as many as 4000 men. The French accounts admit that seven of their ships were set on fire, but they nevertheless blame the Count de Toulouse for not renewing the fight the following morning : M. d'Estrées, the admiral in charge, did however call a council of war, which decided against it. The allied fleets were very much shaken, for besides other casualties, the Dutch flag-ship "*Albemarle*," Admiral Kellenberg, blew up ; and there were no less than ten jury-masts in the fleet ; but Rooke continued to keep the sea, and did not lose sight of his enemy, till he saw them safe within three days in the harbour of Toulon. King Philip nevertheless assumed it as a victory, and sent his bastard cousin the Order of the Golden Fleece, with a letter written in the

highest Castilian. Both sides fought with great bravery incontestably, but the Count de Toulouse was not in a state to take the sea again that summer: nor did the French venture another great engagement at sea during the whole war, for victory remained with that party who still kept the element. Louis XIV. in the depth of his fortunes thought it politic to claim a victory, and struck a medal to record it, but there can be no question that the French ran into port and that the English kept the sea. Rooke sailed to Gibraltar to refit, and towards the end of the month he sailed for England, leaving a squadron with Sir John Leake to protect the coast of Portugal and to keep Gibraltar, threatened by the Spanish General Valladarias, who, towards the end of October, presented himself on the Neutral Ground with a view to invest the rock, and was shortly joined there by a French general of great activity and military science, the Marshal de Tessé; but neither the Frenchman nor the Spaniard could do any thing against the place, and after four or five months the siege was raised. The Prince of Hesse exhibited many proofs of valour, and resisted an attempt to scale the rock by the Spaniards. Thus not only was this great acquisition secured, but a timely and most important diversion effected in favour of the allied troops in the Peninsula.

The two greatest men in England in the year 1704 were doubtless the Duke of Marlborough and Sir George Rooke. The one was generalissimo of the land forces, and the other admiral of the fleet of England; and both gained for their country (on the same day) victories which crippled the enemies of their country to the end of the war. Rooke, moreover, added the most important acquisition of Gibraltar as a conquest of his sword. Yet such is the unfathomable caprice of fortune, and such in England is the injustice of party spirit, that the one being a Whig and the other a Tory, and the Whigs being in power, Marlborough secured honours, wealth, and applause, whilst Rooke gained neither one nor the other. The former was suffered to enjoy his hour, though the same fate as Rooke's came upon him when the ascendancy of his rivals prevailed; but now he ingaged the gratitude of his Queen and country. Sir George Rooke on the contrary returned from his great services, to be received indeed by his Sovereign with great distinction in her palace, but in silence by the Parliament; and such was the ingratitude of his country that he thought himself obliged to resign all his employments and to retire into private life. The Duke had wealth as well as honours heaped upon him, but when Sir George died, a few years subsequently, he said, "I do not leave much, but what I leave was honestly gotten: it never cost a sailor a tear, nor the nation a farthing."

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## 1705.

1. WAR IN THE LOW COUNTRIES.—2. MARLBOROUGH FORCES THE FRENCH LINES.—3. OFFERS BATTLE NEAR WATERLOO.—4. WAR IN ITALY.—5. WAR IN SPAIN.—6. THE EARL OF PETERBOROUGH TAKES BARCELONA.—7. CATALONIA AND VALENCIA DECLARE FOR KING CHARLES.—8. WAR IN HUNGARY.—9. WAR IN SCANDINAVIA.—10. NAVAL WAR.

## 1. WAR IN THE LOW COUNTRIES.

Early in March the Duke of Marlborough left England for Holland. It had been determined that the seat of war should be this year upon the Moselle, where preparations had been made, and magazines of all sorts had been formed at Treves. He calculated on being able to act with 90,000 men. Having concerted with the States General and the allied generals the necessary measures for opening the campaign, he set out early in April for Maestricht. He was to be confronted this year by Marshal Villars, almost the only real soldier left in a high command to the French king, and who if not a great strategist was far superior to Villeroy, and the other generals, who were the mere nominees of Madame de Maintenon and the Jesuit party. Villars, indeed, was a first-rate general and a dashing and resolute soldier.

In the month of May Marlborough went to Radstadt to visit the Margrave of Baden, who was, or pretended to be, in bad health. The Prince was induced to promise that he would march with a large detachment towards the Saar and Moselle to act in concert with the Duke, and that he would leave a sufficient number of troops under General Thungen for the security of the lines of Lauterberg and Stollhofen. The confederate army, on the faith of this promise, passed the Moselle and Saar in the middle of June and encamped at Elft in sight of the enemy, who retired with great precipitation and intrenched themselves in the neighbourhood of Coningsmacheren. The Duke's design was to besiege Saar Louis within the French frontier. But the Margrave failed in the performance of his engagement. He feigned himself ill and repaired to the baths; but the worst suspicion was, that he had been corrupted by the French, for he was thought to be jealous of Marlborough, and apprehending that the entire glory of what might happen would accrue to the Duke, chose rather to defeat his whole design than that the English general should carry away the honour of the campaign. The Duke finding himself in consequence obliged to retreat, sent in a note with a trumpet to Marshal Villars to apologize for decamping. "Do me the justice," said he, "to believe that my defeat is entirely owing to the failure of the Prince of Baden, but that my esteem for you is still greater than my resentment for his conduct."

## 2. MARLBOROUGH FORCES THE FRENCH LINES.

Intelligence however of an alarming character had, in truth, induced the Duke to change the scene of operations. Marshal Villeroy determined to take advantage of his superiority on the side of the Netherlands, and to put General Overkirk on the defensive, had invested Huy and carried on his operations so vigorously, that he took it in a few days, and had now advanced to the reduction of Liège. On the 18th indeed he had actually begun his works before the citadel. Marshal Overkirk cautiously kept within his lines, for he was unable to keep the field. Marlborough was no sooner informed of all these circumstances, than he resolved to return to the Netherlands. He set his troops in motion on the 19th of June, and marched with such expedition that he passed the Maese on the 1st of July. On the Duke's approach, Villeroy abandoned his enterprise at Liège and retired within his lines along the Mehaigne. Marlborough then united himself with Overkirk and recaptured Huy on the 12th of July. The English general now resolved to strike some blow of importance that should atone for his disappointment on the Moselle, and sent General Hompesch to the States with a proposal for attacking the French lines. The enemy had 100 battalions and 160 squadrons. The allied army did not exceed 50,000 men. In order to divide attention, Overkirk made a feigned movement and passed the Mehaigne on the 17th, as if he intended to attack the lines about Meffelen. The stratagem succeeded. The French weakened the other parts, and Marlborough began to march on the night of the 17th—18th of July, in order to force a passage through the lines at Heylissem, Wauge, Neerhespen, and Oostmalen. These posts were taken with little difficulty, but before the Duke could bring up his infantry the enemy advanced with fifty squadrons and twenty battalions, and began to fire from eight pieces of cannon (they are said to have been formed with triple barrels) which did considerable execution. The Duke perceiving that they were continually reinforced, ordered Baron Hompesch to make a charge of cavalry, which soon broke and dispersed their horse. These, however, rallied and again advanced, sustained by their infantry, but after a warm and short engagement the French horse were defeated with the loss of some guns. The infantry seeing themselves abandoned in the plain, retreated in great disorder between the villages of Heylissem and Golsteden, where they were joined by the rest of their army, and formed again in order of battle. The Duke now ordered all his troops to enter the French lines, and extended his right towards the Great Geete and Tirlemont, where the enemy had left a battalion which surrendered at discretion. In this action the confederates took the Marquis d'Alègre, commanding in chief, two lieutenants-general, one major-general, and two brigadiers, with many officers, and a great many soldiers, prisoners; besides colours, kettle-drums, and ten pieces of cannon. In the fight, as the Duke advanced to the charge at the head of several squadrons, a Bavarian officer rode up to attack him, but raising himself in his stirrups to strike at greater advantage, lost his balance, fell from his



horse, and was immediately slain. This wing of the army thus defeated was now formed into a square by M. de Caraman and retreated in spite of all opposition by the defile of Noduwez.

The Elector of Bavaria and Marshal Villeroy retired by Jodoigne and passed the Geete and the Deule with great expedition, and took possession of the strong camp at Parck, against the height of Louvain. The enemy moved so quick that Marlborough took prisoners 1200 men marching through the plain of Parck, who could not keep up with the retiring army. He was encamped with his right at the abbey of Vliersbeck, and his left before Bierbeck, under the cannon of Louvain. He sent a detachment to attack some posts on the Deule, which had been left slenderly guarded, but though it passed the river and repulsed the enemy, yet for want of timely support it was obliged to repair it and retire. The capture of these lines was celebrated at London, Vienna, and the Hague with great rejoicing, and Marlborough's glory was greatly increased by it.

### 3. OFFERS BATTLE NEAR WATERLOO.

On the 15th of August the Duke came to Corbais and continued his march on Genapp and Fischermont. On the 17th General Dompré took the post of Waterloo. On the 18th the confederate army were drawn up in order of battle before the enemy, who extended from Overische, near the wood of Soignies, to Neerische, with the little river Ische in their front, so as to cover Brussels and Louvain. Marlborough had now got the French forces into a position where he might have annihilated them, and proposed to attack them immediately before they should have recovered themselves from their consternation—and Overkirk approved of the design; but it was opposed by Schlagenberg and other Dutch officers, so that the Dutch field-deputies refused to let their troops act. The Duke being thus obliged to relinquish the scheme, wrote to the States General, complaining of their having withdrawn the confidence which they had reposed in him while he acted in Germany. The letter having been published at the Hague, excited murmurs among the Dutch people, and the English nation was so incensed at the presumption of the deputies that the Earl of Pembroke, lord president of the council, was sent as envoy extraordinary to Holland, with instructions to demand satisfaction. The States, however, anticipated his journey by making submission to the Duke and removing Schlagenberg from his command. The confederate army in the meanwhile returned to Corbais, from whence it marched to camp at Periwitz. The town of Sint-Leeuwe, situated in the middle of a morass, which constituted the chief defence of the French lines, was taken by a detachment under General Dedem, and the Duke ordered the lines from this place to the Meuse to be levelled, and the town of Tirlemont to be dismantled. Then passing the Demer he encamped at Aerschot on the 19th of September. On the 24th of October the Count de Noyelles invested Sanvliet, which surrendered before the end of the month, and Marlborough closed the campaign, repairing to Vienna to arrange that for the next

year. He was received with great distinction by the Emperor and created Prince of Mildenheim.

#### 4. WAR IN ITALY.

Nothing of any importance occurred on the Upper Rhine between the Margrave and Villars. The latter passed the Rhine and took Homburg on the 6th of August, but the allies obliged him to repass that river, and forced the French lines at Hagcnau. In Italy the French were rather regaining the ascendancy. Prince Eugene was now on that side of the Alps with a weak army and a dispirited colleague in the Duke of Savoy; and on the 16th of August a battle was fought at Cassano between Prince Eugene and the Duke de Vendôme with dubious success, in which the Prince was wounded. The Duke de Feuillade reduced Chiusa and invested Nice, which after an obstinate defence surrendered on December the 9th. All the considerable places belonging to the Duke of Savoy, excepting Coni and Turin, were now in the hands of the enemy, and his little army was reduced to 12,000 men, which he could hardly support. Pressed on all sides to submit to the necessity of affairs, he nevertheless adhered to the alliance with surprising fortitude.

#### 5. WAR IN SPAIN.

The campaign in Portugal opened advantageously for the allies. A great error had been committed by the Bourbon King in sending back to France the Duke of Berwick, who was indisputably superior to those who succeeded him. The young Queen was asked why they did not retain a man who had all the qualities of a great general, and she replied, "*C'est un grand diable d'Anglais sec, qui va toujours droit devant lui.*" More might have been done for King Charles but for the dissensions and jealousies of the generals—namely, the Earl of Galway, who commanded the English; Fagel, who commanded the Dutch; and Las Minas, who commanded the Portuguese. The allies commenced the campaign by invading Spain from the different frontiers of Beira and Alemtejo. Galway took Valencia and Alcantara by assault in May. Alburquerque surrendered upon articles. Las Minas reduced the town of Salvatierra, plundered and burned Sarca, but retired from Penamacor at the approach of the enemy. A new army, however, took the field from England this year, commanded by the most daring and brilliant soldier of the day, the witty, eccentric, and unscrupulous Earl of Peterborough. He sailed from Portsmouth with Sir Cloudesly Shovel in May with 5000 men, and took King Charles on board at Lisbon, (as he passed,) entertaining his Majesty and his suite most munificently at his own private cost on the voyage from the Tagus. Here they were joined by Sir John Leake and the Dutch Admiral Allemonde. In a council of war they determined to put to sea with forty-eight ships of the line, which should be stationed between Cape Spartel and the Bay of Cadiz, in order to prevent the junction of the Toulon and Brest squadrons. The Prince of Hesse-Darmstadt arriving from Gibraltar, assured King Charles that Catalonia and Valencia were attached to his Majesty's interest, and the King, being weary of

Por ugal, resolved to accompany the Earl of Peterborough to Barcelona. He accordingly embarked with him on board the "Ranelagh," and the fleet sailed on the 28th of July—Galway having reinforced them with two regiments of English dragoons, and the Prince of Hesse with the English guards from Gibraltar. On the 11th of August they anchored in the Bay of Alten, where the Earl of Peterborough published a manifesto in the Spanish language, which had such an effect, that on all sides, from the villages and the mountains, hundreds acknowledged King Charles as their lawful Sovereign. They seized the town of Denia for his service, and sent thither a garrison of 400 men under General Ramos. Finding the disposition of the inhabitants so good, and knowing that insurrections against the Bourbon King had broken out in other quarters, Peterborough, with his characteristic daring, proposed making a forced march inland, and setting the Austrian on his throne at Madrid, which capital he was confident he could carry by a *coup de main*. His project was overruled; but it may be doubted whether it would not have been easier to march and take Madrid than to lay siege to Barcelona, garrisoned by 5000 men, under the Duke de Popoli. This was now proposed by the Prince of Darmstadt, who joined in the expedition as a volunteer, and it was approved by the Earl and Sir Cloudesly Shovel. Some of the generals serving under Peterborough were of opinion that the attempt amounted to madness, and they were confirmed that the man was mad, when, throwing off all routine and military pedantry, the Earl determined to attack the castle before taking the town. At Barcelona, nevertheless, they disembarked on the 22nd of August, and immediately invested the city, but for three weeks no serious impression could be made by the besiegers. Peterborough had observed that if he could only take the strong fort of Monjuich, which commanded the town, the town itself must fall; and he resolved to try it while his men were fresh and vigorous, and free from those casualties and miseries which inevitably attend protracted sieges. Accordingly he took a near view of the castle in person, discovered enough to convince him that the garrison in it was neither strong nor vigilant, and communicated his design to no one but to the Prince of Hesse.

#### 6. THE EARL OF PETERBOROUGH TAKES BARCELONA.

Having re-embarked some of his troops in order to impress the Spaniards with the belief that he had given up his enterprise, and was on the point of sailing away, the Earl suddenly ordered about 1400 men under arms on the night of the 3rd of September, and sent them by two different by-roads to fall upon the castle. The first body he led in person, having the Prince of Hesse-Darmstadt and 800 men with him. The second body was led by General Stanhope. About day-break Peterborough, with no artillery but a few small field-pieces and mortars, fell upon the castle, and established himself on the outworks; but in the attack his friend the Prince received a shot in the body and expired soon after. Stanhope, mistaking his way, did not come up for some time, and the Spanish governor made a fierce sally, hoping to sweep the assailants before him down the hill. But Peter-

borough and his brave associates kept their ground, and the Spaniards thinking them more numerous than they were, wheeled round and retired within the castle. Stanhope now came up, and they threw a few bomb-shells into the fort, one of which fortunately fell into the magazine, and blew it up; causing the death of the governor and some of the best officers, on which the fort surrendered without delay.

This great point being gained, the English general erected his batteries against the town, with the help of the miquelets and seamen. The bomb-ketches fired with such execution that the governor Velasco agreed to surrender the town, if not relieved within four days. During this interval some of the troops found means to climb over the ramparts into the town, where they began to commit the most barbarous excesses. The viceroy of the province, the Duke de Popoli, complained to Peterborough. "They must be the troops of the "Prince of Hesse," replied the Earl; "allow me to enter the city with "my English forces, and I will oblige the Germans to retire, save "the city from ruin, and come back again to finish the terms of the "capitulation." Velasco accordingly admitted Peterborough with his troops, and these drove out the Germans and Catalonians, who were committing such horrors, and obliged them to quit the plunder they had taken. By accident the Earl was enabled to rescue the Duchess de Popoli from the hands of the brutish soldiers, and restored the fair lady to her lord. Having appeased the tumult and dispelled and calmed the alarm of the citizens, Peterborough returned to his former station, leaving the inhabitants of Barcelona amazed at such an instance of magnanimity and moderation in a people, whom they had been taught to consider as heretics and barbarians. In a few days the governor capitulated, and on the 4th of October King Charles entered the city in triumph. His Majesty writing to Queen Anne on the occasion, says, "Your Majesty's troops behaved with a discipline "and generosity beyond example."

#### 7. CATALONIA AND VALENCIA DECLARE FOR KING CHARLES.

Immediately after this remarkable achievement, the whole of Catalonia declared for King Charles, with the exception of Rosas. It was now determined in a council of war that the King and the Earl should continue in Catalonia with the land forces; that Sir Cloudeasly Shovel should return to England; that twenty-five English and fifteen Dutch ships of war should winter at Lisbon, under the command of Leake and Wassenaer; and that four English and two Dutch frigates should remain at Barcelona. Velasco was sent, with the garrison, prisoners to Malaga; the rest engaged to enter the service of Charles: the Count de Ceifuentes secured many towns for King Charles, and Don Raphael Nevat, revolting with his whole regiment of horse from King Philip, joined General Ramos at Denia, and these chiefs made themselves masters of several places in the kingdom of Valencia. Flushed with such unexpected success, they marched against the city of Valencia, which they surprised, making prisoner of the Marquis de Villa Garcia, the viceroy, at the same time.

The enemy, however, sent a body of 6000 men under Count de las Torres to invest San Matheo, garrisoned by 500 miquelets under Colonel Jones. Peterborough marched thither with 1000 infantry and 200 dragoons, and by means of feigned intelligence artfully conveyed to the Count, induced that general to abandon the siege with precipitation. The Earl afterwards took possession of Nules, and raising troops and purchasing horses, he assembled a little army of ten squadrons of horse, four battalions of regular troops, and about 3000 militia; and receiving intelligence that sixteen twenty-four-pounders were shipped off for Alicant, he intercepted them all with stores and ammunition enough for a siege. He then marched to Molvedro, which surrendered to him, and entered Valencia, where the inhabitants expressed uncommon marks of joy at his arrival in their city, and he made his residence there some time.

The whole of this campaign is like a piece of romance; for by it the Earl of Peterborough indisputably gave to the military history of his country one of its most sparkling episodes. The officers who were with him could scarcely credit what he had done with such insufficient means, even when they saw the work achieved, and the Spaniards said the Earl had a devil in him, and could only have accomplished it by the aid of necromancy. King Charles wrote a letter with his own hand to the Queen of England containing a circumstantial detail of his affairs, with the warmest expressions of acknowledgment and the highest encomiums on the Earl of Peterborough.

The Marshal de Tessé, after vainly endeavouring to retake Gibraltar, turned the siege into a blockade and withdrew the greater part of his forces.

Towards the end of September the Earl of Galway, on the other side of the Peninsula, invested Badajoz, but losing his hand by a cannon-ball, he was obliged to be carried off the field, leaving the conduct of the siege to the Dutch General Fagel. The General encountered, however, a very strong resistance, and the Marshal de Tessé found means to throw in considerable reinforcements. No assistance appearing to be derived from the Portuguese General Las Minas, the allies were constrained to give up the siege and retire into Portugal. Colonel Wills and General Conyngham had a considerable action near San Istivda, in which D'Asfeld was repulsed; but General Conyngham was killed in the action.

### 8. WAR IN HUNGARY.

During this year the war continued to rage in Hungary with various success. Ragotski, though frequently worsted, appeared still in arms, and ravaged the country, which became a scene of misery and desolation.

### 9. WAR IN SCANDINAVIA.

In Sweden the Swedish General Reinschild obtained a complete victory over the Saxon troops of King Augustus with 6000 or 7000 Russians under General Schulenberg at Frauenstadt, on the 12th of February. But it was not much of a fight, as it did not last more than

a quarter of an hour, for although the dispositions of the General were excellent, the Russians and Saxons fled without firing a shot. Amongst the prisoners, however, was an entire French regiment, which had been taken by the Saxons after the battle of Blenheim, and which had entered the service of King Augustus under M. de Joyeuse, who was here killed.

#### 10. NAVAL WAR.

The only misfortune that attended the English arms in the course of this year was the capture of the Baltic fleet homeward bound, with their convoy of three ships of war, which were taken by the Dunkirk squadron, under the command of Count de Forbin; the Count de St. Paul was killed in the engagement. After Jean Bart, De Forbin was counted the best seaman in France at this juncture. Duguay-Trouin also with his squadron captured the "Elizabeth," 72, British man-of-war, but afterwards lost the greater part of his own ships, which were taken by the English cruisers.

### 1706.

1. WAR IN ITALY. BATTLE OF CALCINATO. SIEGE OF TURIN.—2. WAR IN THE LOW COUNTRIES.—3. THE BATTLE OF RAMILLIES BY MARLBOROUGH AND DE VILLEROY.—4. CONSEQUENCES OF THE VICTORY.—5. WAR IN ITALY.—6. BATTLE OF THE STURA. TURIN RELIEVED.—7. WAR IN SPAIN.—8. LORD GALWAY TAKES ALICANTARA AND CIUDAD RODRIGO.—9. KING PHILIP QUILTS AND KING CHARLES ENTERS MADRID.—10. PETERBOROUGH IN DISGUST LEAVES SPAIN.—11. KING CHARLES GOES BACK TO VALENCIA.—12. NAVAL WAR.—13. WAR IN SCANDINAVIA.

#### 1. WAR IN ITALY. BATTLE OF CALCINATO. SIEGE OF TURIN.

At the end of the last campaign Prince Eugene had thought it safe to establish his winter-quarters at the foot of the Alps, between lakes Guardo and D'Isco, occupying Calcinato in the centre, with Carpendolo on the right flank and Montechristo on the left. He left his army under the command of Count von Reventlow and set off himself for Vienna. The Duke de Vendôme also quitted his command for Paris, but, before he left, he desired the Count de Medain, who commanded in his absence, to prepare everything for a surprise of the enemy on his return. Accordingly he came back to the army a few days before the expected return of Prince Eugene, and determined to put his design into execution. At daybreak on the 19th of April he advanced secretly with a detachment formed of 300 men by battalion, and 400 or 500 cavalry, in all 15,000 men, and fell on Count Reventlow's line, who had not sufficient notice of the attempt to form. The Count resisted with some success, but at length alarmed for his retreat on Salò, he determined to retire on the Tyrol. Eugene returning, met this flying army, and having rallied them, brought them

back to the bank of the Adige. Count Reventlow, however, had lost 3000 men on the field, with six guns and all his baggage.

Great exertions had been making by Louis XIV. to bring the war to a conclusion in Italy, and to punish the Duke of Savoy for his tergiversation; and after the affair of Calcinato the allies were obliged to relinquish everything to the Duke de Vendôme, except Turin, which he proceeded to besiege, whilst Eugeno kept his army on the alert to disturb it. Victor Amadeus implored Marlborough to come to his assistance, but the States General would not part with him.

## 2. WAR IN THE LOW COUNTRIES.

The King of France knew that he could at any moment outnumber any army that the Margrave of Baden could assemble on the Rhine, where Marshal Villars commanded the French forces; and he told the Marshal, "*Vous avez le secret de faire qu'un homme en vaut deux, quand il sert sous vous.*" The great object was therefore to reinforce the army in Flanders, so as to be in a condition to act offensively against the Duke of Marlborough. Marshal Villeroy here commanded a splendid army, amounting to 80,000 men, burning to blot out the disgrace which all the French felt they had sustained at Blenheim. His generals counselled him to remain on the defensive in his intrenched camp on the Deule; but a hotheaded presumption was the great characteristic of Marshal Villeroy's character, and this led him often into errors, though none so serious as that which he now committed, to the irreparable loss of his reputation.

The Duke of Marlborough arrived on the Continent on the 25th of April. Marshal Villars had already taken the field, and being reinforced by a corps under Marshal Marsin, drove the Margrave of Baden back to the Lauter, reduced some towns which contained the principal magazines, and was preparing to overrun the Palatinate. This intelligence met Marlborough on his arrival at the Hague, and infused such an alarm into the Dutch, that they offered him the choice of the field-deputies, who should accompany his army on the part of the States General, with implicit directions to obey his orders. The Duke departed from the Hague on the 9th of May, and took the command. His plan of campaign was to attempt the surprise of Namur. In this design he combined two objects; that if he secured the fortress, he turned the right flank of the enemy's intrenched camp; and if Villeroy should endeavour to prevent the attempt, the Duke brought him out of his lines, and gave him an opportunity of forcing him to an engagement. With these views he advanced towards Tirlemont. The plan succeeded to his most sanguine wishes. Villeroy and the Elector of Bavaria passed the Deule, and anticipated the Duke by camping at Tirlemont. On the 19th of May Marlborough sent the most pressing orders for the immediate junction of all his forces. On the 20th he had collected 122 squadrons and seventy-four battalions, and had his head-quarters at Bilsen. The whole force of the allies was estimated at 60,000, and that of the French at 62,000 men. On the 22nd Marshal Villeroy still anticipating Marlborough's movements, took up the position of Mount St. André, between the rivers

called the Great and Little Geete and the Mehaigne, the very ground the confederate army hoped to occupy.

### 3. THE BATTLE OF RAMILLIES BY MARLBOROUGH AND DE VILLEROY.

The morning of the 23rd of May broke in the midst of a thick fog. It was already ten o'clock before the allied commanders could reconnoitre the ground in the position the French had taken up. This is the highest part in the plains of Brabant, but at the same time is so little elevated, that the streams which take their rise in it have but a slow descent, which renders their sources marshy and their whole course swampy. The surface of the land above them is varied with gentle undulations, and dotted with coppices. The Little Geete divides the ground into two portions, one called Mont St. André and the other the plain of Jandrinœuil. On this occasion the former was the position occupied by the French and the latter by the allies: the village of Ramillies lies between them, just above the marsh that forms the source of the rivulet. The French left rested on the villages of Anderkirk or Autre Église and Offuz, in a fork of swampy land between two branches which form the Little Geete, and an insufficient detachment was thrown forward into the village of Ramillies, while the right occupied the open space in front of the tomb of Ottomond (from whence a view extended over the whole field of battle), and nearly rested on the Mehaigne. The defects of the position were too obvious to escape the penetrating eye of the British commander. The left of the enemy ensconced in swampy land would render the troops placed there useless for any offensive movement during the battle. The village of Ramillies was not included in the French line, and with its small garrison was too distant from it to receive effectual support; the village of Tavières still more in advance and on the bank of the Mehaigne should either have been amply garrisoned or not occupied at all. It was occupied at first merely by a regiment of dragoons, but afterwards by four battalions, who had lined the hedges near Franqueray, and by one posted on an old chaussée, called the Chaussée de Brunchault, who fell back and garrisoned Tavières. What was still more extraordinary, Marshal Villeroy, who must have anticipated the battle about to take place, never thought of sending away the baggage, which was accordingly left between his lines, to the great embarrassment of his movements. The whole of the French cavalry, comprising 100 squadrons, were in two lines in front of the tomb of Ottomond.

Marlborough having made his reconnoissance, determined to change the whole order of his attack, though it took him five hours to do so. He saw it was not necessary for him to trouble himself about the French left, which could do him no harm, and he determined, therefore, to fall with all his force on the village of Ramillies in the centre. Villeroy might have amended this vicious disposition in the time thus allowed him. Lieutenant-General de Gassion, who, as next in rank, commanded the left, observed its evil position, and entreated him to do so. "You are lost if you do not at once change the order of battle; disengage your left and march it against the



"enemy, who is only your equal in number ; draw your lines close ; if "you delay an instant you are lost." But it was altogether useless for M. de Gassion to propose anything, the Marshal would not listen to him, and ordered him not to quit his post without express orders. "Toute la gauche," said the French general with a shrug, "reste "inutile le nez dans le marais."<sup>1</sup>

It was Whit-Sunday, and the Elector of Bavaria was at his devotions at Brussels, not in the least aware that a battle was expected. He returned at a gallop as soon as he heard that an action was expected, but it was too late for his advice to be attended to when he arrived, and all he could do was to repair the lost opportunity by the most distinguished bravery.

Marlborough ordered the British, Dutch, and German infantry to march down from the heights of Fouly, and, sustained by infantry, to form a demonstration of attack on the villages of Offuz and Anderkirk, in two lines. Villeroy, discovering his left to be menaced, marched troops with the greatest celerity to reinforce those villages ; and as soon as this was perceived, the Duke directed the second line to march rapidly to their left, and to form in rear of the left centre, near which Ramillies was situated. Twelve battalions, under General Schulz, were told off for the attack on this village. Colonel Werthmüller commanded the attack against Tavières, and dislodged the French infantry who lined the hedges over Franqueray. The Dutch guard who led the column encountered some resistance, the enemy being covered by the enclosures ; but the place was carried with vigour, and fresh troops drawn from the second line, with the horse headed by Overkirk, moved gradually up on the right wing of the enemy. Villeroy now perceived the real point of attack, and ordered fourteen squadrons to dismount and hasten to the support of the troops in Tavières, and to these were joined two regiments of Swiss infantry, but it was too late. Before they could arrive, the village was carried by storm, and the Danish horse intercepted this reinforcement on their march, and either cut them in pieces or drove them into the Mehaigne.

Overkirk now brought forward his cavalry, which was encountered by the troops of the French King's household, who roughly handled them and drove them back in some confusion. The Bavarian cuirassiers profited by the disorder to bear on their right, under the protection of the guns in position at Ramillies ; but the Duke in person now came up with fifteen or twenty squadrons from the right, and the Danes were recalled from the left, which re-established order in this quarter. In this endeavour Marlborough was exposed to the most imminent peril. In leaping a ditch, his horse fell with him, and he was in danger of being made prisoner. Captain Molesworth, his aide-de-camp, dismounted and gave him his horse, but in mounting again, Colonel Bingfield, who held his stirrup for him, was struck with a round shot, which carried off his head.

In the height of this conflict General Schulz had advanced against

<sup>1</sup> "All the left remains useless with their nose in the marsh."

Ramillies with the twelve battalions he commanded and twenty-four guns. The Marquis de Maffei defended this post and plied the advance with a heavy fire of shot and shell. This had the good effect of drawing it off from the cavalry, which was in the act of rallying—nevertheless Schulz advanced, and forcing back some battalions of Swiss, gained the skirts of the village. The Bavarian foot guards were also driven by him through the centre of the place, till they rallied round the Cologne guards, who were there, and stood firm. The Marquis de Maffei, who commanded the Bavarians, attempted to make a stand in the hollow road leading out of Ramillies towards Ottomond, in the hope that the Gallo-Bavarian cavalry still held the plain behind him, between the village and the main position upon Mont St. André; but, as has been said, the distance was too great to receive assistance across the plain. The troops were too few to maintain themselves in the village, so that the allied infantry, reinforced with twenty battalions from their centre, coming down upon them at this moment, the whole took to flight, and, together with the Marquis de Maffei, were taken prisoners.

Marshal Villeroy's cavalry, consisting of twenty squadrons from his right, were now seen to arrive at full speed into action. The view of so powerful a reinforcement rushing across the plain produced a pause in the conflict. Marlborough moved forward his troops to meet them, in four lines, and made use of a manœuvre that could only be adopted by troops of great coolness and admirable discipline. At the moment of the charge, Marlborough ordered his first and third lines to break right and left, and permit the second line to receive the enemy, when the former closed upon the flanks and rear of the enemy's advancing line and enveloped them; then as he approached the French, he closed up the second and fourth lines so as to oppose a close front to the enemy in two ranks of squadrons. This manœuvre was effected without confusion, and so close to the opposing squadrons that they could not change their disposition in time to meet or to avoid it, for the allied cavalry rushing on, passed through the intervals of the French squadrons and carried all before them. The Danish cavalry led on by their undaunted leader, the Duke of Würtemberg, penetrated between the Mehaigne and the right flank of the household troops, whilst the Prince of Hesse with the Dutch guards threatened their rear, and drove them beyond the tomb of Ottomond off the field. Marshal Villeroy and the Elector used their utmost exertions to rally the fugitives, and exposed their persons with the utmost bravery. The Marshal was seen running about distracted, perfectly ignorant what remedy to apply to so many disasters.

The battle had now lasted three hours and a half. The Elector and Villeroy, with the remaining portion of the cavalry on their left, endeavoured to make a movement to cover the formation of the broken troops, but the baggage which had been suffered to remain between the French lines impeded all their attempts. Marlborough saw the confusion, and instantly ordered forward the column of infantry which had carried Ramillies, to move to their right and make a final

blow. They penetrated through the swamp towards Offuz, flanked by the British horse under General Wood, who, at the head of his own regiment and that of Wyndham, advanced upon the rising ground which forms the Mont St. André. The infantry regiments of Churchill and Mordaunt, and the squadrons of Lumley, Hay, and Ross, who had hitherto continued on the heights of Fouly to watch the French left, could not any longer remain idle spectators of the conflict, but boldly forced their way through the morass and ascended the acclivity between the two rivulets. Here they at once charged and defeated the troops on this flank, under General De Gassion, and overtaking the *régiment du Roi*, compelled them to throw away their arms and surrender. General Wood continued to press the retreating army, and came up with the Spanish and Bavarian horse guards under the command of the Elector in person. They were instantly charged, numbers were killed and taken prisoners, and the Elector himself escaped with difficulty. The waving mass of the French army, which had hitherto maintained some degree of order, now burst from all control and spread in all directions like a scattered swarm. The baggage waggons broke down and obstructed the roads, and the British cavalry, being quite fresh, overtook and captured vast numbers. Almost all the cannon and all the baggage were captured, and the pursuit was continued till two in the morning, when the Duke and Overkirk with the main army halted at Meldert, five leagues from the field. The actual loss is killed and wounded to the conquerors was not great, and was as nothing to the results of this battle in the utter and entire dispersion of the French army which now ensued.

#### 4. CONSEQUENCES OF THE VICTORY.

The Elector and Villeroy after escaping from the perils of the day fled to Louvain. There they held a council in the marketplace by torchlight, and hastily resolved to abandon the fortified towns and open country, and to save their discomfited army by a hasty retreat behind the canal at Brussels. The day after the battle, Marshal Marsin arrived and joined them with twenty-two battalions, sent to Villeroy by Villars, and which he must have known were on their way to reinforce him. The Marshal did not dare to write word of this defeat (which threw the whole court into consternation) to his attached friend and Sovereign. When at last he appeared at court, his Majesty, instead of reproaching him, remarked, "*M. le Maréchal, 'on n'est plus heureux à notre âge.'*" The Monarch had an affection for Marshal Villeroy, who was the son of his governor, and had been brought up with him; nevertheless, after the battle of Ramillies, Villeroy was never again employed in the field, and never regained the confidence of the army, although he was not thrown off by his royal friend.

The French were said not to have left more than 2000 or 2500 dead on the field. Nevertheless, those captured swelled their loss to 15,000 or 20,000 men, with from eighty to 100 guns, and colours and standards without end. The troops were indeed so dispirited by this defeat that

numbers disbanded and returned to their homes across the frontier. M. de Chamillard, the war minister, was sent by the King to stop this, but it could only be done by the establishment of two camps, which M. de Vauban was ordered to lay out and fortify. The allies lost 1066 killed, and 2867 wounded. Among those of distinction who fell in the action, are named the Princes of Soubise and Rohan, and Marquis de la Baume, a son of Marshal Tallard. The Prince of Hesse-Cassel was wounded, and General Pallavicini taken prisoner.

The intelligence of this victory excited as much enthusiasm in England as that of Blenheim. The Queen wrote with her own hand to the victorious general, "I want words to express my true sense of the great service you have done to your country." A proclamation was instantly issued for a general thanksgiving, and on the 29th of June her Majesty in person attended the solemnity in St. Paul's Cathedral.

By this victory of Ramillies the French lost the whole of the Spanish Netherlands. The allies took immediate possession of Louvain, and next day encamped at Betlehem. Mechlin, Brussels, Ghent, and Bruges submitted without resistance, and acknowledged King Charles. A schism having broken out between the Walloon and French regiments, which composed the garrison of Antwerp, the governor, the Marquis de Terracina, sent to Marlborough to offer to surrender the place on conditions. Thus without the loss of a life the Duke on the 6th of June became master of a fortress of incalculable advantage in future arrangements. Overkirk had undertaken the siege of Nieupoort, but was ordered to raise it and undertake that of Ostend, which at the same time that it was invested by the allied troops by land was also blockaded by sea with a British squadron of seven ships of the line and four frigates under Vice-Admiral Sir Stafford Fairborne, and Marlborough moved his head-quarters to Rousselaer to superintend the operations. Trenches were opened on the 28th—29th, and at daybreak on the 3rd of July, the bomb-ketches began to throw in shells upon the town whilst the land batteries opened on the fortifications. In a very short time the town was observed to be on fire in several places, and before night most of the cannon were dismounted. On the 5th the Generalissimo came himself to the siege, and his presence hastened the crisis—for on the 6th the place capitulated. The same place had withstood the Spaniards nearly three years, and was now taken in about fourteen days with a loss of some 600 men. The vessels lying in the harbour were not included in the capitulation, and, accordingly, nine ships of war and forty merchantmen became the substantial and valuable trophies of the contest. Menin, fortified by all the skill of M. de Vauban, strong by nature and now defended by a French garrison under M. de Caraman, was next invested by the allies. The trenches were opened against it on the 4th—5th of August. General Schulz conducted the right attack and Lord Orkney that of the left. On the very same day the Duke de Vendôme, recalled from Italy to take the command which Villeroy had mismanaged so fatally, arrived at Valenciennes, and now threatened to interrupt the siege. Marlborough was with the covering army, but on the 16th in some trifling affair

between the armies, Cadogan was taken prisoner. The French Marshal, knowing he was a friend of the Duke's, immediately sent him back on his parole, and Marlborough, not to be behind him in such generosity, sent in the Baron de Pallavicini, who was a prisoner with the allies. The siege continued, and on the 22nd M. de Caraman proposed terms which were deemed exorbitant, and it was not till the 25th that General Walderen with five Dutch battalions got possession of the place. Dendermonde surrendered to Churchill on the 1st of September, and Ath to Overkirk on the 4th of October. After these sieges the allied army was reunited in the camp at Cambrou with their head-quarters at the Abbaye de Lens. From thence on the 12th of October the victorious general entered Brussels in triumph amidst the joyful acclamations of the inhabitants, whose magistrates presented him with the keys of the city, and received him with all the honours usually paid to the ancient Sovereigns. The Emperor, and King Charles, as Duke of Burgundy, made an offer of the government of the country to him who had won it, and Marlborough accepted the grant, subject to the approval of the Queen of England; but the various interests and views, both of the English and Dutch, jarred at this, and the Duke found himself eventually obliged to decline this lucrative and honourable appointment.

Marlborough put his army into winter-quarters in the beginning of November, leaving the English at Ghent, the Danes at Bruges, and the Germans along the river. He himself went to the Hague to concert measures for the next year's campaign. These misfortunes broke the spirit and constitution of Louis XIV. At his court no mention was made any longer of military transactions; all was grave, silent, and devout. The Duke de Vendôme was recalled from Italy, as we have seen above, and the Duke of Orleans (afterwards the Regent) was placed at the head of the French army in Piedmont, under the tutorage and direction of Marshal Marsin.

#### 5. WAR IN ITALY.

The Duke de la Feuillade was before Turin, which he invested in the month of May, with 100 battalions, forty-six squadrons and 140 pieces of cannon. Great preparations had been made for the siege, and 21,000 bomb-shells collected to bombard the town. Vauban had sent to offer his services at this siege as a volunteer, but the presumptuous and over-confident general responded with great impertinence, "*Qu'il esperait prendre Turin à la Cohorn.*" The lines of vallation and circumvallation had been finished by the beginning of June, and on the 7th, before he commenced shelling the city, the Duke of Orleans courteously sent to the Duke and Duchess of Savoy to offer passports, and a guard for the removal of themselves and their children. The Duke declined to remove his family, but when the siege and bombardment had continued with uncommon fury for a short time, the ladies quitted Turin, and were conducted into the Genoese territories. The Duke also now forsook his capital in order to put himself at the head of his cavalry. He behaved with singular firmness and fortitude at this period, rejecting every offer that was

made him by the French Monarch. Prince Eugene, the sole buckler and defence of the falling state, was beyond the Adige, and to all appearance kept in check by a long chain of intrenchments. Turin made a noble defence, and the garrison destroyed 14,000 of the enemy in the course of it; yet their defences were almost ruined, their ammunition began to fail, and they appeared to have no prospect of relief. Eugene had numberless difficulties to surmount in deciding on a march to the assistance of the capital. The Duke de Vendôme, before he quitted Italy, had secured all the fords of the Adige, the Mincio, and the Oglio, and formed such lines and intrenchments as he imagined would effectually hinder the imperial general from arriving in time to relieve the city. Nevertheless, the Prince passed the Bormida on the 27th of August in despite of the enemy, and by an admirable intermixture of military science, courage, and perseverance, overcame all opposition, and reached the neighbourhood of Turin on the 31st day of August. There, being joined by the Duke of Savoy, he crossed the Po between Moncalieri and Carignano. On the 30th La Feuillade had made an assault and had been repulsed. The Prince, on the 5th of September, took a convoy of 800 loaded mules, and next day passed the Dora and encamped, with the right on the bank of the river below Pianessa, and the left on the Stura before Veneria. The French were intrenched, having the Stura on their right, and the Dora on their left, and the Capuchin convent, called De la Campagna, in their centre. The Duke of Orleans proposed to march out of his intrenchments to give battle to Prince Eugene, and was seconded by all his generals except Marsin, who on being pressed, produced an order from the French King commanding them to follow the Marshal's advice, and he had private instructions to keep within the trenches; for the court of Versailles was now become afraid of hazarding engagements. The Duke of Orleans was indignant, and loudly declared he had not come there to serve under a tutor.

#### 6. BATTLE OF THE STURA. TURIN RELIEVED.

On the 7th of September the confederates marched up to the French lines of circumvallation (in eight columns, with 30,000 men) through a terrible fire from forty pieces of artillery, and were formed in order of battle within half cannon shot of the enemy. The right wing, under Anhalt, met with such a reception as seemed to check their progress, when Prince Eugene, perceiving it, put himself at the head of the troops on the left, and the brave Savoyards leaped into the trenches and forced the intrenchments at the first charge. The Duke of Savoy met with the same success in the centre, and on the right the Prince of Saxe-Gotha performed wonders, and with his Saxons forced Port Cassine, near Lucengo. The horse posted for that purpose advanced through the intervals of the infantry, and bursting in with vast impetuosity, completed the confusion of the enemy, who were defeated on all hands, and retired with precipitation to the other side of the Po, while the Duke of Savoy entered his capital in triumph. The battle for an hour and a half was a carnage,

and during the heat of the attack Eugene was wounded and fell, and the troops, supposing him to be killed, began to lose courage ; when he appeared again covered with blood, and gave his orders with the utmost coolness. Turning to the Duke, as soon as he saw the enemy begin to fly, he exclaimed, "Italy is ours, cousin." The Duke of Orleans exhibited repeated proofs of the most intrepid courage, and received several wounds in the engagement. Marshal Marsin had his thigh shattered by a ball, of which he died a few hours after amputation, whilst in the hands of the victors. Of 80,000 men, who are said to have been in the trenches and the lines, the French are supposed to have lost 5000 slain on the field of battle, 7000 taken prisoners, and 245 pieces of artillery, besides 180 mortars, and an incredible quantity of ammunition, tents, and baggage. Marshal de Marsin was much blamed for having neglected the proper defences of the camp on the side attacked by Eugene; but it was said of him, "*La vie qu'il avait perdu sur le champ de bataille selon les lois de l'art militaire il l'aurait dû perdre sur un échafaud.*" The loss of the confederates did not exceed 3000 killed in the action, and about the same number of the garrison had fallen in Turin since the beginning of the siege. This was such a fatal stroke to the interests of Louis, that he was never informed that his army was defeated and ruined, but merely that the siege of Turin had been raised at the approach of Eugene. Marlborough felt the triumph of his old comrade as he ought. "It is impossible," he writes to the Duchess, "to express the joy it has given me ; for I do not only esteem, but I really love that Prince. This glorious action must bring France so low, that 'if our friends could but be persuaded to carry on the war with vigour one year longer, we cannot fail, with the blessing of God, to have such a peace as will give us quiet all our days.'" The Duke of Orleans retreated into Dauphiné, while the French garrison were driven out of every place they occupied in Piedmont. The Count de Medavi, however, who commanded a body of troops left in the Mantuan territories, surprised the Prince of Hesse in the neighbourhood of Castiglione, and obliged him to retire to the Adige, with the loss of 2000 men. Cremona, Valenza, and the castle of Milan were blocked up by the confederate forces.

## 7. WAR IN SPAIN.

In Spain, the affairs of France had been much less unsuccessful, because on the side of the allies there was no unity of command or purpose. Peterborough was checked and crossed by all kinds of mediocrity and imbecility, or he might possibly have placed his name as high as those of Marlborough and Eugene ; but, as it was, he could do no more than perform romantic exploits, which had no lasting result. The French King, on the contrary, repaired the faults of the former year. He named the Duke de Berwick Marshal of France, and sent him to command his armies in the Peninsula, and the Marshal arrived at Badajoz on the 27th of March. On the 6th of April King Philip, at the head of a numerous army, invested Barcelona by land, while the Count de Toulouse blockaded it by sea with a numerous

squadron. His army consisted of thirty-eight battalions and sixty squadrons. The Marshal de Tessé disapproved the project, which nevertheless nearly succeeded. King Charles made a vigorous defence, but thus cooped up in the town he implored Peterborough to come to his relief. The garrison was reinforced with some troops from Gerona, and other places ; nevertheless the fort of Monjuich was taken, and the place so hard pressed that Charles ran the utmost risk of falling into the hands of the enemy. The Earl flew to his assistance from Valencia, but had no more than 2000 men with him, and found it impossible to enter the city. He maintained his post, however, upon the hills, and with surprising courage and activity kept the besiegers in continual alarm. Still he must have failed, but for the timely arrival of the English fleet. Sir John Leake, with thirty ships of the line, appeared in sight of Barcelona on the 8th of May. The French admiral no sooner received intelligence of his approach than he set sail for Toulon, and in three days after his departure, King Philip abandoned the siege and retired to Madrid, in great disorder, leaving behind him his tents standing, and all his sick and wounded.

#### 8. LORD GALWAY TAKES ALCANTARA AND CIUDAD RODRIGO.

On the side of Portugal the confederates had got together forty-five battalions and fifty-six squadrons, well furnished in all respects. The Duke de Berwick had thirty or forty squadrons of cavalry, and there were ten battalions in Alcantara. The Earl of Galway having about 27,000 men undertook the siege of that town. On the 14th of April the place surrendered. On the 20th the confederates crossed the Tagus and proceeded to Placentia, but Las Minas and the Portuguese would advance no farther until they should know the fate of Barcelona. When they understood that the siege was raised, they consented to march on Madrid. In the meanwhile Galway, who had rested some days at Almaraz, marched back by Placentia and Coria and laid siege to Ciudad Rodrigo, which surrendered on the 26th of May, and to Salamanca, which capitulated on the 7th of June. He then proceeded to the capital—the French army retiring before him.

#### 9. KING PHILIP QUILTS, AND KING CHARLES ENTERS MADRID.

The news of the raising of the siege of Barcelona reached the Duke de Berwick on the 1st of June ; and he found that King Philip had returned to Madrid instead of collecting all the forces of the French in Castile. Accordingly Berwick repaired to the capital, to persuade the King to leave it, and give up all idea of defending it ; on this Philip and Berwick retreated together to Burgos, after having destroyed every thing they could not carry away ; and on the 24th Lord Galway and the Portuguese took possession of Madrid without resistance. King Charles loitered away his time at Barcelona ; and the Spaniards were not at all pleased to find their capital all this time in the possession of Portuguese and foreigners, headed by a heretic. The inhabitants of the two Castiles remained firm to Philip, and at Toledo the citizens seized the Queen Dowager, who had proclaimed her



nephew King Charles, and tore down his standard. On the 28th Berwick had collected from different quarters forty-nine battalions and seventy-eight squadrons; though the French battalions were not of their full strength. Galway had with him forty battalions and fifty-three squadrons, and was expecting ten or twelve battalions and some twenty squadrons to join him, under Charles and Peterborough. Had Lord Galway, instead of stopping idly at Madrid, followed King Philip across the Ebro, he would have given Peterborough an opportunity of joining him; but losing this opportunity, Marshal Berwick played his cards so well, that he manœuvred him out of Madrid, and Philip returned to his capital on the 4th of August, the very day which had been fixed upon for King Charles's entry.

#### 10. PETERBOROUGH IN DISGUST LEAVES SPAIN.

It was the 6th of August before King Charles and Peterborough joined Lord Galway at Gundalaxara with six battalions and sixteen squadrons. Peterborough now aspired to the chief command, and quarrelling with the Prince of Lichtenstein (the confidential friend of Charles), and Galway, he threw up the cards he was not allowed to play, quitted the army in disgust, and went back to Valencia, where he embarked on an expedition to conquer the Island of Minorca. He did indeed return again to Spain, but only remained a short time to press the siege of Alicant; and then he embarked in a ship of war for Genoa and sailed for England, never to return to Spain again. King Charles was of course indignant at this desertion, and transmitted charges against him to England, where his conduct was inquired into by Parliament, but it was cleared up to their entire satisfaction.

#### 11. KING CHARLES' GOES BACK TO VALENCIA.

Upon the departure of Peterborough the leaders again quarrelled with one another, but joined in a general complaint against the tardiness of King Charles. They were without money, without magazines or provisions, and Berwick was hovering near them with a superior force. About the middle of August they resolved to retire by the only road that yet remained open to them, and on the 20th of September, after considerable hardships, they reached Requena and the mountains of New Castile, where they went into quarters. King Charles proceeded to Valencia, where he was well received; the allies had taken Alicant on the 8th of August, after a vigorous defence by Governor O'Mahon; and Majorca, Minorca, and Ivica had submitted to their arms. On the other hand the Duke de Berwick sat down before Carthagea on the 11th of November, and it surrendered to his arms on the 17th.

#### 12. NAVAL WAR.

The movements of the English fleet in the Mediterranean this year were badly concerted. A French nobleman, the Marquis de Guiscard, in consequence of a family quarrel, had abandoned his country; and insinuating himself into the confidence of the confederate leaders, had laid before the British Government a scheme for invading France.

In compliance with his representations, about 11,000 men were embarked on ships, under the command of Earl Rivers, with a large train of artillery; and the squadron, commanded by Sir Cloudesly Shovel, set sail from Plymouth on the 13th of August. After sailing about from place to place without meeting any response, they discovered that Guiscard's plan was altogether chimerical, and founded on such slight assurances and conjectures as were not sufficient to justify the attempt. In the mean time the news of Galway's retreat from Madrid arrived; and orders were forthwith given to land Guiscard and his officers, and that having done so, the fleet should sail for Lisbon, where Admiral Shovel arrived with it, towards the latter end of October; but finding a new King just ascended the Portuguese throne, who was not disposed to favour the allies, the British Admiral sailed for Alicant in the beginning of January.

Nor were the allies idle; on the 9th of March Captain Overfield, on board the Dutch line of battle ship "Great St. Christopher," engaged two Algerine pirates and beat them off, and on the 2nd of October the Dutch commander Braak encountered off the Dogger Bank a French squadron, under Chevalier de Forbin. Braak was killed early in the action and his ship burned. Captain Meyer was also killed and his ship taken, but Captain Corlee captured his adversary and then went to the assistance of Captain Gouvenaar, whose ship was so crippled that it sunk, but the two captains united their crews and were saved. The remainder also drove off their adversaries, and the fleet entered the Texel with their merchant vessels in convoy.

### 13. WAR IN SCANDINAVIA.

Poland was at length delivered from the presence of Charles XII., who on the 1st of September of this year took possession of Saxony, and laid the whole electorate under contribution. The confederates were not a little alarmed to find Charles in the heart of the empire; and the Diet of Ratisbon, representing Germany, declared the King an enemy to the Empire if he should pass the Oder with his army. King Augustus, deprived at once of his kingdom and his electorate, sent a confidential messenger to the King of Sweden to obtain terms. All he could get were, 1st, to resign his kingdom of Poland to Stanislaus; 2ndly, to renounce all treaties with the Russians; 3rdly, to deliver up all prisoners and all deserters from the Swedish camp. While this treaty was in progress, Augustus, who had with him still 6000 Polish and Saxon troops, was surprised by the advent into his camp of Prince Menschikoff, who had come to his assistance with 30,000 Russian troops. Fearful lest the Prince should discover his negotiation with the Swedish King, Augustus was at once in dread of being dethroned by his enemy, and taken prisoner by his ally. The Swedish General Mardefeld was at this time at Kalisch with 10,000 men. Menschikoff pressed Augustus to join him and give battle to the Swedes. In his hesitation what to do, he sent a person of confidence to apprise Mardefeld of the treaty, who deeming it a trap, determined himself to risk a battle. The Russians now conquered the Swedes in a set battle for the first time; and Augustus, against his will, was carried

in triumph to Warsaw, once his own capital. He had just assisted in chanting a *Te Deum* for the victory when his messenger returned to him from Charles, with the treaty of peace that deprived him of his crown. He signed it, and at once resolved to repair in person to Charles. He met him, for the first time in his life, at Güntersdorf. The two Kings dined together twice, but Augustus could obtain no diminution of Charles's hard terms: on the contrary, he was peremptorily required to write to his successor and rival, Stanislaus, a letter of congratulation on his accession, and to deliver to him all the jewels of the crown. Under the last provision of the treaty of Alt-Ranstädt, he was also constrained to surrender Patkul. This man was a Swede who had dared to resist the oppression which his country suffered from the power of Charles XI. and XII., and to appear in person with six other deputies to lay a statement of their grievances at the feet of their Sovereign in 1689. He had in consequence been forced to fly his country to Russia, and Peter had now clothed him with the authority of an ambassador and sent him to Saxony. The Czar formally reclaimed him, but Augustus was obliged to deliver him into the hands of Charles, who had him broken on the wheel and quartered at Casimir on the 10th of October. Against this unjustifiable act the Czar wrote to remonstrate at every court of Europe; but Charles's star was now in the ascendant, and at Alt-Ranstädt he received ambassadors from almost every Christian state to court his alliance. Among them came the Duke of Marlborough on the part of Queen Anne. This able man was as great a negotiator as general, and remarkable for his power of discovering and disentangling the motives and characters of the men he had to deal with. The details of this interview with Charles of Sweden have come down to us on the authority of the Duchess his wife. The King was not prepossessed with the Duke's first appearance; he thought him too well dressed for a warrior. Marlborough paid him a compliment, which obtained no remark; but was in no hurry to make propositions. He quietly set himself to study Charles, and soon found that he hated the French, and spoke with pleasure of the victories of the allies. He therefore had no reason to dread the bias of his mind; he also observed that whenever the name of the Czar was mentioned he saw the King's eye sparkle. Moreover he saw a map of Russia on the table. He became convinced that the only object of Charles was to dethrone Peter, as he had dethroned Augustus; he felt satisfied accordingly that it was quite enough to leave Charles XII. to his own fancies; and therefore entered into no negotiations whatever with him. This consummation was thought by the diplomacy of the day to be so unreasonable and incredible, that it was asserted at the time, that the Duke had been bribed to this result, but such an imputation is without any foundation.

Marlborough was at this moment the arbiter of Europe. Even Louis XIV., humbled by the continued victories of the allies, employed the Elector of Bavaria to write to the Duke with proposals for opening a congress. The court of Vienna was of course made acquainted with these, and was so much alarmed at the offers made

by the King, that the Emperor resolved to make himself master of Naples before the allies should have it in their power to close with the proposals of France. This was the true motive of the Emperor's concluding a treaty with the court of Versailles in the succeeding winter, by which the Milanese was entirely evacuated, and the French left at liberty to employ their troops in making strong efforts against the confederates in Spain and the Netherlands. The Dutch were intoxicated with success, and now came under the entire influence of Marlborough, who accordingly was now accused of finding his account in the continuance of the war, in order to gratify both his avarice and ambition. It must indeed be confessed that in the character of this great hero there was a sordid passion for accumulating wealth. This was the chief drawback of all the Duke's superior qualities: whether justly or unjustly, he obtained in his generation the character of being a money-loving man, not averse to speculation, and in every reverse of his life, this stuck to him. There is no ground for supposing it influenced him at this time, but during the whole war, the allies never had such an opportunity as now of securing by a peace the great objects of the war, which was to set bounds to the power of France, and to establish an equal balance between the great houses of Austria and Bourbon. Other motives unfortunately prevailed. The ambition of making conquests, the desire of indemnification for the immense sums expended in the war, and perhaps other reasons, induced Queen Anne and the States General to reject the offers of France, and every preparation was forthwith made for a new campaign.

## 1707.

1. WAR IN THE LOW COUNTRIES.—2. WAR IN GERMANY.—3. WAR IN SPAIN.—4. THE BATTLE OF ALMANZA.—5. CONSEQUENCES OF THE VICTORY.—6. THE DUKE OF SAVOY AND PRINCE EUGENE ENTER FRANCE.—7. THE AUSTRIANS UNDER COUNT DAUN CONQUER NAPLES.—8. SIR CLOUDESLEY SHOVEL WRECKED OFF SCILLY. HIS CHARACTER.—9. FRENCH NAVAL WAR.—10. WAR IN SCANDINAVIA.—11. DEATH AND CHARACTER OF MARSHAL DE VAUBAN.

## 1. WAR IN THE LOW COUNTRIES.

Marlborough returning from his interview with Charles XII, visited Berlin, Hanover, and the Hague, and about the middle of May assembled the allied army at Anderlecht, near Brussels. The Duke de Vendôme commanded the French forces, having the Elector of Bavaria with him. Finding that they had quitted their lines, the Duke advanced on the 24th to Soignies with a design to engage them in the plain of Fleurus: but receiving intelligence, that by the help of drafts from all the garrisons, the enemy was too strong for him, Marlborough retired and took post on the 1st of June at Meldert, while the French advanced to Gembloux. Nothing therefore was done until it was discovered in the month of August that the French

had sent away a large detachment to Provence ; when the Duke and Overkirk resolved to attack them, first at Genappe, and afterwards at Nivelles ; but the French retired behind the Scheldt, and through a variety of causes, the allies were never able to attack them ; so that the campaign closed in October without a single battle.

## 2. WAR IN GERMANY.

On the Upper Rhine the allies were not prosperous. By very remarkable exertions the French were enabled to renew the war on the Rhine, and even to cross that river into the Empire. They still retained possession of Strasburg and Kehl, and Marshal Villars crossing the line at that point drove the Imperialists before him, took Radstadt, penetrated as far as the Danube, and had some hope of recovering Bavaria for the unlucky Elector. On the 22nd of May, Villars advanced to the lines of Bühl or Stollhofen with forty battalions and ten squadrons, and attacked and entirely defeated the German advanced guards. On the 23rd, on the clearing up of a fog, they prepared to force the lines, but found that the allied forces, alarmed lest they should be attacked in the rear by the Marquis de Vivans and the Count de Broglie, had abandoned them. The Marshal accordingly took possession of these lines, esteemed the rampart of Germany, and prepared to follow the Imperialists with all possible expedition. Radstadt, Stuttgard, and Schorndorf were taken ; 3000 Germans intrenched at Lorch, under the command of General Janus, were routed, and the General made prisoner ; and the duchy of Würtemberg was laid under contribution. The contributions, which extended over a circle of fifty leagues, amounted to an enormous sum. One million one hundred thousand livres were raised in the imperial city of Ertlingen, on the Neckar, and 600 000 were demanded of the city of Baden. These the Marshal divided into three portions : one for the army, which accordingly cost the King nothing ; the other to the officers, in lieu of subsistence ; and the third, as Villars himself wrote to his Majesty, " *a engraisser mon veau*," and Louis XIV. approved of it. Marshal Villars was obliged to stop in the midst of his career, by the necessity of sending off detachments to Provence to protect the south of France, invaded by the Duke of Savoy, and accordingly he fell back on Strasburg, and re-crossed the Rhine.

The Margrave of Baden died on the 4th of January. He had had great experience in war, but his extreme dilatoriness and his jealousy of Marlborough marred all the better parts of his character, and engendered chagrins, which destroyed his health and terminated his life. The supreme command of the Imperialists accordingly devolved upon the Elector of Hanover, afterwards George I., a brave and steady soldier, but no great general ; he restored military discipline, and acted with uncommon prudence and circumspection, but had not force sufficient to undertake any enterprise of importance.

## 3. WAR IN SPAIN.

The King of France, by virtue of his capitulation with the Emperor

<sup>s</sup> " *To fatten my calf*," which means, " *For my own benefit*."

n Italy, was enabled to send such reinforcements into Spain as turned the fortunes of the war in that country. By the strange and selfish treaty, above alluded to, the Emperor had consented to the undisturbed retreat of a considerable French force under the Count de Medavi, who were shut up in the Milanese, and these veteran troops were now sent to reinforce the Bourbon King in Spain. On the side of the allies little had been done to strengthen King Charles. It had been resolved in the preceding winter that the allies should unite all their forces and march against Madrid by way of Arragon. Lord Rivers had disembarked his forces at Alicant in February, but at Oya de Castile a battalion, under the Marquis de Montandre, marching carelessly along the high road, was surprised and all taken prisoners or cut to pieces by Ashfeldt. On the 13th of March Charles's army was assembled at Caudete, to the number of 16,000 men, under the command of Las Minas, under whom Lord Galway served as second in command. They marched but a little way before they received intelligence that an attack was threatened by the French on the side of Roussillon, which induced them to halt to defend the province of Catalonia, but Galway and Las Minas were soon obliged out of regard to their supplies to turn aside from this object, as they hoped to get hold of some of the enemy's magazines; and they marched to Yecla, where the enemy had their largest magazines; these after having made them minister to their own necessities they destroyed, and then determined to lay siege to the castle of Villena, in Valencia. The Duke de Berwick collected all his forces and marched to Chinchilla, on the 18th of April, to impede its capture, on which Galway and Las Minas raised the siege of Villena, and marched boldly to meet Berwick. Lord Galway had ordered a new camp to be marked out not far from Villena, designing to meet the enemy there, if they came to attack them, but as they did not, it was resolved to go in search of them. News being brought, that the French army was near the town of Almanza, a council of war was held, and it was unanimously agreed to go the next day and give them battle. The whole confederate army under Lord Galway and the Marquis de Las Minas consisted of 4500 horse and 11,000 foot, of which there were sixteen battalions and 1200 cavalry British, and the rest Spanish. Berwick claims to have had fifty-five battalions and ninety-nine squadrons. It is thought that the allied generals were misled as to the enemy's force, and supposed that the expected reinforcements had not reached the army, and that the Duke of Orleans in person had arrived; which was in both cases the reverse of the fact. The French are computed to have been 25,000 men.

#### 4. THE BATTLE OF ALMANZA.

The two armies met on the plain of Almanza on Easter Monday, the 24th of April. The French were drawn up in two lines. The allies appeared in order of battle, and prepared their force in columns of cavalry and infantry "interlined," to supply their want of cavalry. At three o'clock in the afternoon they advanced under fire of the enemy to a great ravine on the right of the position, and occupied

the heights on which had been placed the enemy's artillery, when finding themselves galled by its fire Colonel Dormer was sent to take possession of the battery from which Berwick thought it prudent to withdraw. Both armies soon came into close engagement. Galway began the attack on the enemy's right, and dislodged them from the height on which they stood. About eight o'clock the French cavalry charged the left of the position where Lord Galway commanded, but the allied infantry stood firm, and obliged them to retire: the cavalry of the allies were inferior to the French, but the fire of their infantry kept the enemy's cavalry in check. Berwick now seeing that it would be difficult to do anything on this flank without infantry, brought up his second line, under Bulkeley, and by a combined attack of cavalry and infantry shook the left of the allied position, overpowered the British, Dutch, and Portuguese squadrons, and put them to the rout.

An equally obstinate fight was kept up on the other flank. The French right, having driven back the force opposed to it, turned to the left, and aided in the destruction of the allied right wing; but the centre, which consisted chiefly of British and Dutch, obliged the enemy to give way, and drove back their first line on the second. It was one of the hardest fought battles of the war. The English and Dutch infantry kept the battle undecided for six sanguinary hours. Charge after charge, on the part of the French, was ineffectual, and even now, when the French and Spaniards were victorious on both wings, their centre was cut through, and the main body of their infantry completely broken. Ten battalions, English and Dutch, penetrated both lines, and advanced even to the walls of Almanza. The Duke of Berwick having now nothing to fear from the two flanks, where he was carrying all before him, ordered up two squadrons under Don Joseph Amézoge to charge the allies, and this gave courage to the French infantry, who immediately rallied. The allied infantry formed in hollow square and retired in good order notwithstanding all Berwick's efforts to break them. Las Minas made the greatest personal exertions, such as are seldom witnessed in a man of his rank and age; he was here, there, and everywhere. His mistress, who had followed him in this campaign, and wore a soldier's dress, was killed fighting by his side. He himself was severely wounded. Galway received two sabre cuts on the face, which proves that he also was not deficient in his own personal endeavours to reassure the victory. This disabled him from the command, and had no doubt an unfavourable influence upon the fortune of the day. In the end, victory remained with Berwick. The allies finding their left wing beaten and their right in disorder, attempted to retreat, but in doing so many were cut to pieces. Thirteen battalions under Count de Dona, gained a woody mountain, but exhausted with fatigue, with all their ammunition spent, and perfectly ignorant of the country, they were in the end made prisoners. The allies lost 5000 killed, and nearly 10,000 prisoners, with all their artillery and baggage, and above 100 standards. The French lost about 2000 men. In the course of the following day the greater part of the

allied army, to avoid starvation, surrendered, and the victory of Almanza was complete.

#### 5. CONSEQUENCES OF THE VICTORY.

The Duke of Orleans arrived in the camp the day after the battle, deeply grieved at not sharing the glory of the day, and at his only arriving at his command when there was no enemy's force left to oppose him. Berwick entered Valencia, and captured a number of other towns. He now suffered greatly, like the enemy he had recently defeated, for want of provisions. Count de Las Minas and Galway retired at his approach, and, leaving Ashfeldt in Valencia, the Marshal arrived at Tortosa on the 23rd of May. Ashfeldt laid siege to Xativa, into which a body of 600 English had thrown themselves, and defended themselves with such obstinacy, that after being driven from the breach, they fought from house to house for eight days, after the enemy had possession of the town; at length the English commandant in the castle asked for terms, which being refused, the garrison shut themselves up, leaving the town at Berwick's mercy. With a paltry revenge he ordered all the inhabitants to leave the place, and not to presume to return; and then destroyed the whole town, with the exception of the principal church. This was unworthy of Berwick, and served to justify the charge that his personal character was that of a harsh man. It may have been more the act of Ashfeldt, who was deemed to be a man as relentless in peace as brave in war, but we have Berwick's own authority that he "gave the orders." A new town was afterwards built upon its ruins by King Philip, and called after him San Felipe. This new town remains and becomes a noble monument of this feat of arms, which confers lustre on the English character for firmness, bravery, and resolution. Saragossa capitulated without firing a shot on the 25th, and on the 10th of June Berwick and the Duke of Orleans crossed the Ebro. On the 1st of July they crossed the Cinca and advanced upon Lerida. From this time to the middle of August they were unable to undertake any thing. On the 18th the Duke de Berwick received orders by a courier to repair instantly to Provence, to serve under the Duke of Burgundy, who was marching to the assistance of Toulon, besieged by the Duke of Savoy, who had gallantly carried the war into the French territory. The Marshal instantly departed; but learning on the road, that the siege of Toulon had been raised without his assistance, he immediately returned to Spain, and rejoined the Duke of Orleans near Lerida in the month of September. The Duke would have opened the trenches immediately, though he had got together but fifteen pieces of cannon, and very little ammunition and siege material, but Lerida had been regarded, since the days of the great Condé, as one of the strongest places in Europe: it was difficult to approach on account of its rocky soil, and the distance from thence to obtain fascines and gabions: it was now garrisoned by 4000 British and 2000 Spaniards, under the Prince of Darmstadt. On Berwick's persuasion, this siege was deferred till the 2nd of October, when the trenches were opened against the town, which was taken



by assault and subjected to all the horrors of war on the 12th ; the castle still held out, but was forced to capitulate, unconditionally, on the 11th of November. The Duke of Orleans was very alert throughout the siege, visiting the trenches, encouraging the soldiers, and exposing his own person freely. After his troops had made good their entry upon the rampart, he maintained such discipline that he would not permit the soldiers to enter the town till morning, when he gave it up to a systematic pillage for eight hours. The Prince of Darmstadt commanded in the town, and Colonel Wills in the castle, but there was no concert between them, and they were worse supplied within the place than the French were without. There was a kind of army under the banner of Charles in the neighbourhood, which it was intended should succour Lerida,—consisting of about twenty battalions and seventy squadrons ; but as soon as they heard that the place was taken, they retired to Cervera. The campaign ended, on the side of the French, with the capture of Morella, on the 17th of December.

#### 6. THE DUKE OF SAVOY AND PRINCE EUGENE ENTER FRANCE.

The attempt upon Toulon, by the Duke of Savoy and Prince Eugene, might have succeeded, if the Emperor had not divided his army in Italy, by detaching a considerable body towards Naples, of which he took possession without any difficulty. The project had been concerted between the courts of St. James and Turin, that Prince Eugene and the Duke of Savoy should cross the Alps with an army of 30,000 men, by the Col de Pende, while Sir Cloudesly Shovel, with a combined fleet of English and Dutch, was to co-operate off the coast of Provence. On the 10th of July their forces reached the Var. The French had raised works, which they deemed impregnable, to prevent the passage of this river. Sir John Norris, however, a gallant British seaman, ascended that river from the sea, with boats and gun-boats, and 600 sailors and marines, who were rowed within musket-shot of the enemy's intrenchments. They immediately landed, and made such a vigorous and desperate attack, that they carried the French works sword in hand, and compelled the defenders to fly with the utmost precipitation. This affair was directed by Sir Cloudesly in person ; and the Duke of Savoy, taking advantage of the success, passed the river on the 11th without much further opposition, and marched directly towards Toulon, whither the battering train and ammunition were conveyed on board the allied squadrons.

The French King was extremely alarmed at this attempt, as 5000 pieces of cannon, vast magazines, and the best part of his fleet were in that harbour ; and the whole kingdom was terrified at finding an enemy in the bosom of their country. The Monarch set to work forthwith to repair all deficiencies, and to draw in troops from all parts. His subjects exerted themselves in the most exemplary manner to assist him ; the nobility marched into the town at the head of their servants and tenants ; they coined their plate and pawned their jewels to pay for work on the fortifications ; and such exertions

were employed that, in a few days, the town and harbour were in a good state of defence. The allies took post on the eminences that commanded the city, and erected batteries, from which they began to cannonade and bombard the city, while the fleet attacked and reduced two forts at the entrance of the Mole. The garrison defended the place with great vigour. They sunk ships at the entrance of the Mole, and made desperate sallies. The French King had countermanded the forces that were on their way to Spain, and recalled a great part of the army on the Rhine, under Villars, and, as we have seen, determined to intrust the command of the force to the Duke de Berwick. A fortified camp, in which were forty battalions, had already been constructed; and on the 15th of August the French sallied out of it and recovered the position of St. Catharine, which they had lost on the 29th of July. Marshal de Tessé also now arrived with twenty battalions, and the Duke of Savoy, seeing little hope of reducing the place, and fearful of being intercepted on his passage back to Italy, resolved to raise the siege and abandon the enterprise; but in retaliation for the ruin of his capital the previous year, he gave directions for bombarding the town, and he and Prince Eugene viewed from one of the heights "the dreadful blaze," which was all the consolation they received for their disappointment. The destruction on the side of the harbour was, however, indeed terrible. The arsenal, and two batteries, and eight ships of the line lying in the harbour, were totally destroyed by the Dutch and English fleet. On the night of the 25th of August the confederates retired in haste, and reached the Var on the 31st, whence they continued their retreat by the Maritime Alps. As the detachments from the different French armies could not be spared, there was no pursuit, and Eugene was therefore in a condition to undertake the reduction of Susa, an ancient town at the foot of the Alps, and one of the best defences of Turin, on the side of France. The garrison resisted for a fortnight, and then capitulated; and, by this conquest, the Duke of Savoy not only secured the key to his own dominions, but opened to himself a free passage into Dauphiné. The loss in this expedition, however, to the invading army has been put down at 10,000 men, between the 1st of July and 1st of September.

#### 7. THE AUSTRIANS UNDER COUNT DAUN CONQUER NAPLES.

Had the Emperor assisted Eugene with all his disposable troops, and had he acted with more promptness and vigour, Toulon might probably have been taken; but Joseph cast an avaricious eye on the Spanish possessions at the southern extremity of the Italian peninsula, and looked to the easy conquest of the kingdom of Naples, instead of aiding his allies. Count Daun, with 5000 foot and 3000 horse, crossed the Neapolitan frontier without resistance, and advanced to the strongly fortified city of Capua, which commands the passage of the river Volturno. That important city opened its gates and welcomed the Austrian without a blow; the city of Aversa did the same, and at length they entered the capital, amidst the joyful shouts of the people, who were exasperated at the Spanish Viceroy for his impositions and arbitrary levies. They presented the keys of the city

to Daun, and overthrew the statue of King Philip, which he had caused to be erected; while the three castles which command Naples surrendered without firing a shot. The Prince of Castiglione, with 1000 horse, took the road to Apulia, with the intention of preserving these provinces for King Philip; but he found the passes of the Apennines occupied by the Imperialists, and was obliged to retreat in the direction of Salerno. The flag of the Bourbon still floated at Gaeta, but the place was besieged by the Austrians, and carried by storm in the month of September. At this easy rate the fairest kingdom in Europe was secured to Austria in the course of a few months, not without serious injury to the more important movements of the confederates.

#### 8. SIR CLOUDESLEY SHOVEL WRECKED OFF SCILLY. HIS CHARACTER.

This distinguished Admiral having finished with Toulon, left a squadron with Sir Thomas Dilkes for the Mediterranean service, and set sail for England with the rest of the fleet; he was in soundings on the 22nd of October, when a storm arose in which his own ship, the "Association," foundered, on the rocks of Scilly, with himself, his sons-in-law, many persons of distinction, and every soul on board; two other men-of-war also perished. The Admiral's body was recovered and conveyed to London, where it was interred in Westminster Abbey with all the pomp and magnificence suitable to the reputation of such a brave officer. He had been the artificer of his own fortune, and by his personal merit alone from the lowest beginnings raised himself to almost the highest station in the navy. He was one of the greatest sea commanders of the age; of undaunted courage and resolution; and at the same time eminent for generosity, frankness, and integrity.

#### 9. FRENCH NAVAL WAR.

The French Admiral de Forbin commanded a squadron at Dunkirk, consisting of ten ships of war, one frigate, and four privateers, which had considerable successes against the English ships of war and merchantmen this year. In the month of May the British ships "Royal Oak," "Grafton," and "Hampton Court," with about forty coasters under convoy, being about six leagues to the westward of Beachy, fell in with this squadron. The "Grafton," after the loss of her captain, Acton, was boarded by three men-of-war, who carried her after a warm dispute of about half an hour. The "Hampton Court" was attacked and boarded by three others, and struck; but not before her captain, Clements, was mortally wounded. The "Royal Oak," under the English commodore, Baron Wylde, received several shots under water, but she plied her assailants so warmly, that they were at length forced to sheer off with their captures and leave her; but, while the men-of-war were thus engaged, the enemy's frigates and their privateers took twenty-one of the merchant ships: the rest got away. In July the same active officer captured fifteen ships belonging to the Russian company, off the coast of Lapland. In September he joined the Brest squadrons off the Lizard, under the command of

Duguay-Trouin, having in all twelve or fourteen sail of the line; and on the 10th of October they encountered the British squadron, consisting of the "Cumberland," 80, "Devonshire," 80, "Chester," 50, "Ruby," 50, and "Royal Oak," 76, with the escort of the outward bound Lisbon fleets. Duguay-Trouin, in "Le Lys," 74, and two others, attacked and captured the flag-ship "Cumberland," Count de Forbin, in "L'Achille," captured the "Ruby;" the "Chester" fell into the power of "Le Jason;" the "Devonshire" was burned, and about sixty merchant vessels were captured. The "Royal Oak," under its old commodore, Baron Wylde, alone escaped. His conduct under two such singular escapes was investigated by a court-martial, and he was sentenced to be dismissed the service. Since the battle of Malaga the French King had not dared to keep the sea with such a fleet, but it is thought he was enabled to have such successes against the trade and convoys of England by the intelligence he obtained by private and corrupt means from the Admiralty and other public offices, at London.

These successes very much gratified Louis XIV., and he used to take pleasure in hearing Duguay-Trouin himself recount his many gallant exploits. One day, eagerly describing a combat, he said to the King, "J'ordonnai à 'la Gloire,' (c'étoit le nom d'un de ses 'frégates') de me suivre." "Et elle fut fidèle, reprit le Roi en l'interrompant." The same gallant commander captured this year, on the 6th of November, another British sixty-four gun ship, the "Gloucester," after an hour and a half's combat. Admiral de Forbin had, in the latter part of this year, taken on board Prince Charles Stuart, with the intention of landing him in Scotland, and sailed with that object on the 19th of March, but the vigilance of Sir George Byng foiled the enterprise, and one of their ships was boarded and taken; but the others got safely back to Dunkirk, having been tossed about for a whole month in very tempestuous weather. It was at parting with the Prince on this occasion that Louis XIV. gave his Royal Highness a sword, studded with valuable diamonds, saying that the best wish he could give him was, that he might never see him again.

#### 10. WAR IN SCANDINAVIA.

Charles XII. set off from Saxony in September with 43,000 men. Besides this army, Löwenhaupt, one of his best generals, awaited his arrival in Poland with 20,000 more men. He had, moreover, an army of 15,000 in Finland, and recruits daily arriving from Sweden. With such a force he had no doubt that he should be able to dethrone the Czar, the only object of his ambition at this time. As he marched his army towards Russia he was overtaken by an ambassador from Turkey, who sent him 100 Swedish soldiers, rescued by the Calmuck Tartars, as the most agreeable offering the Sultan could render to the King, being the enemy of the Russians in common with themselves. Peter had advanced as far as Leopold, but had again retired to Grodno, in Lithuania, to which place the Swedish King marched in the midst of ice and snow, and arrived there on the 1st

day of January. He left Stanislaus in Poland, with 10,000 Swedish troops to uphold his influence and his throne.

#### 11. DEATH AND CHARACTER OF MARSHAL DE VAUBAN.

This year died this celebrated engineer of France: he was born in Burgundy in 1633. Having lost his father in his 18th year, he repaired of his own accord to the army in Spain, and was received as cadet in the regiment of Condé. In 1655 he first became an engineer, and in 1662 he was employed by the King in all his sieges and fortifications. To him military science is indebted for the first application of cross fire in defence, and for ricochet to destroy it, and the breaking of the walls with cannon. It is even said that he first introduced the bayonet. After successive promotions he received the *bâton* of a Marshal of France in 1703. Voltaire says of him that he was "*le premier des ingénieurs et le meilleur des hommes*;" and his character is thus portrayed by Fontenelle, "*Un sens droit et étendu qui s'attachoit au vrai par une espèce de sympathie et sentoit le faux sans le discuter, lui épargnoit les longs circuits par où les autres marchent.*" As a military engineer he carried the art of fortifying, attacking, and defending towns to a degree of perfection unknown before his time. He improved 300 citadels, erected thirty-three new ones—had the management of fifty-three sieges, and was present in 140 engagements.

### 1738.

1. WAR IN THE NETHERLANDS.—2. BATTLE OF OUDENARDE.—3. CONSEQUENCES OF THE VICTORY.—4. THE SIEGE OF LILLE. MARLBOROUGH AND EUGENE AGAINST BOUFLERS, VENDÔME, AND BERWICK.—5. MARLBOROUGH RECOVERS GHENT.—6. THE WAR IN ITALY.—7. THE WAR IN SPAIN. CAPTURE OF MINORCA.—8. NAVAL WAR.—9. THE WAR BETWEEN CHARLES XII. AND PETER I.—10. DEATH AND CHARACTER OF MARSHAL OVERKIRK.

#### 1. WAR IN THE NETHERLANDS.

Before the opening of this campaign a daring attempt was made by an imperialist officer to carry off the Dauphin from Paris. The scheme very nearly succeeded, but they only captured the King's equerry instead of his grandson.

The Duke of Marlborough was met at the Hague early in April by Prince Eugene, the Grand Pensionary, and the Deputies from the States General; and, having concerted together the plans for this year's campaign, Eugene went to Vienna, to bring up reinforcements, and Marlborough took the field.

Not discouraged by the failure of his attempt on Scotland, the French King resolved to improve the advantages he had gained on the continent during the last campaign, and assembled a prodigious army in the Netherlands, amounting, it is said, to 100,000 men. The Pretender (the Chevalier de St. George, as he was called) not having

succeeded in invading Scotland, was with the French army, to serve against his countrymen and their allies. The French commanders formed a plan of campaign no less bold than judicious. They meditated the surprise of Ghent, which commanded the course of the Lys and the Scheldt, and of Bruges, the centre of all the principal water communications; and, finally, their plan embraced the reduction of Oudenarde, a town incapable of any protracted resistance, but a most convenient place of arms for the operations on either side. The first part of the design conceived by the French commanders was no less successfully executed than judiciously planned. Having diverted the attention of Marlborough by some feint on the side of Louvain, they suddenly broke up their camp on the 4th of July, and at dawn on the 5th, Brigadiers La Faille and Grimaldi with a small party appeared before Ghent. By the negligence or treachery of the watch, a small number of soldiers were suffered to gain admission as deserters, and found means to amuse the guard till another party arrived and secured the gate. The other gates were obtained with the same facility; and La Faille, who was well known to the inhabitants, assembled the magistrates and burghers, and readily obtained their submission. A small garrison of 300 men still held the citadel, which he instantly invested. Six hours after this surprise Count de la Motte appeared before Bruges, which surrendered on the first summons. Major-General Murray, who had been posted at Manekirk with a detachment, was no sooner apprised of these movements, than he hastened before Ghent, and arrived in time to have saved the place, had he not been refused admission by the burghers. He had, therefore, no resource left, but to retire and leave the citadel to its fate. Marlborough receiving prompt intelligence of these proceedings, broke up from Terbank on the morning of the 5th, and advanced towards the Dender; but the alertness of the French baffled his design. The same night they crossed the river near Ninove in several columns, and placing the Dender between the armies, marched down the stream, and took post at Alost, to cover Ghent on one side and threaten Brussels on the other. The allies, therefore, marched on the 6th to Asche, within a league of Alost. The loss of Ghent and Bruges had struck consternation at Brussels, and this movement was intended to pacify the alarm excited by it. Happily at this moment Prince Eugene arrived in the camp of the allies, having outstripped his cavalry at Maestricht. The first question he made to his old comrade was, "Are you going to fight?" "I only wait for your troops," replied the Duke. "Oh, don't do that," said the Prince, "or the French (some 100,000 strong) will get away." The citadel of Ghent surrendered on the 8th, and on the 9th the French sent detachments to invest Oudenarde. To cover the siege they prepared to occupy the strong camp at Lessines on the Dender. The allies could not allow this to be effected without an interruption, and accordingly at two on the same morning Marlborough broke up from Asche, and sending four battalions to Brussels to quiet their alarms, he moved in four columns with the cavalry on his flanks, so that before break of day he reached Herfelingen, five leagues from Asche, where he halted

and encamped. Four hours after Cadogan was sent forward with eight battalions and as many squadrons, to throw bridges over the Dender and post himself at Lessines. Marlborough and Eugene followed him the next day and found him already posted beyond the Dender, over which he had thrown bridges. Cadogan had crossed his army by them and taken post behind the stream which joins the river at that place. The French commanders little expected this bold movement of the Duke, which placed him between them and their frontier. Foiled, therefore, in their design on Lessines, they relinquished their intention of investing Oudenarde, and directed their march to Gavre, where they threw bridges over the Scheldt and prepared to cross it on the 10th.

Marlborough, informed of these hesitations and changes, and aware that an army under a divided command and crossing a river loses much of its order and discipline, pushed forward immediately to the Scheldt to come in contact with the enemy. At dawn of this same day (the 11th) Cadogan and Rantzau were detached with a strong force of sixteen battalions and eight squadrons, and with thirty-two pieces of artillery to throw bridges over the Scheldt, near Oudenarde, and were followed in a few hours by the whole army. Cadogan reached the Scheldt, between Oudenarde and the abbey of Eaneme, at half-past ten, and completed his bridges about two in the afternoon. Two leagues below, the French were at the same time also crossing the river at Gavre. The French advanced guard, under the Marquis de Biron, had already passed over, and were detached to collect forage, not dreaming that the allied army were so near them. Cadogan, proceeding to reconnoitre, described several squadrons of the enemy as well as their foraging parties, and immediately sent the cavalry to attack them, who drove them towards Synghem, where they came up with M. de Biron with twelve squadrons. That general immediately drove Cadogan back to the windmill of Eyne, on a height just overlooking the river, whence he saw a considerable number of the allied squadrons in position and more crossing by the bridges. Biron immediately sent back word of this to the Duke de Vendôme, who happened to be at table, on which occasions he received disagreeable news with especial disgust; he would not now believe that the allies had crossed the Scheldt until the Lieutenant-General declared he had himself seen them, when the Marshal rose from the table and hastened to the field. Eugene and the Duke had felt alarm lest Cadogan might be overpowered before they could arrive to support him, and they pressed forward at the head of a column of Prussian cavalry, and reached the bridges just as the Marquis de Biron was reconnoitring them. Vendôme hastening to join him at the windmill, observed the clouds of dust which marked the course of march of the distant columns, and instantly judged that there was sufficient time to attack the confederates before the main army could come up; and to secure the plain of Heurne, on which he was standing, he ordered up Pfeffer with seven battalions to occupy the village, and the cavalry to draw up near the windmill of Eyne. He then went to advise the Duke of Burgundy to bring up the whole army. Startled at this

sudden necessity, the Duke hesitated and halted at Gavre. He even purposed to march back to Ghent, but Vendôme told him it was now too late, for that in half an hour he would have the whole allied army upon him. "Why then did you stop me?" said the poor Duke. "To attack the enemy," replied Vendôme. Meanwhile Pfeffer mistaking the village of Eyne for the village of Heurne, advanced and occupied the former place, where the cavalry were also drawn up. Marlborough perceived that these troops were isolated from the main body of the French army, and he ordered Cadogan with twelve battalions and Rantzau with the cavalry to attack. This was in fact the commencement of

## 2. THE BATTLE OF OUDENARDE,

for although the armies on neither side were in position, but were both crossing the river Scheldt at two opposite points, and although it was already three o'clock in the day, and the allied army had already marched fifteen miles, and had been in motion since two in the morning, yet the Duke and the Prince were both eager to engage. Major-General Grimaldi, with the French King's household troops, received orders to dislodge Rantzau from the eminence on which he was posted, but before they could get forward to do so Brigadier Sabine, at the head of four English battalions, led the attack against him; a sharp conflict ensued, but the enemy were soon forced, and three entire battalions with a brigadier were made prisoners. Rantzau with his cavalry rushed after the fugitives, who were overtaken, routed, and driven across the Norken in the sight of their own army, which was now forming on the other side. The electoral Prince of Hanover (who was afterwards George II.) charged at the head of a squadron on this occasion, and had a horse shot under him. Count Luschky, another volunteer of distinction, was killed by his side. Vendôme, who saw the attack, rode up to Grimaldi and asked him "why he had been so imprudent as to engage thus unsupported!" He replied, "By the orders of the Duke of Burgundy." The French troops were furious at this defeat in their sight, and were now clamorous to be led against the allies to revenge it.

It is not easy to describe clearly the ground on which the battle, which now began, was fought. The surface of the country, along this portion of the Scheldt, consists of low hills and bold undulations. The banks of the river are flat and marshy. The bolder uplands are here denominated "couters," which are in general wholly cultivated with corn. Approaching the field of battle from Gavre, a "couter," having a stream called the Norken running parallel, and below it, is crossed by the Grande Chaussée from Oudenarde to Ghent, and forms a good position to defend. In the valley, on the opposite bank of the rivulet, is the village of Mullem, and the "couter" on this bank of the Norken is divided into two by a stream that runs from Marolem and the windmill of Royegem to Eyne. The "Bosen Couter," extending at right angles to those north-west from Oudenarde, forms the higher ground, from which both these rivulets take their rise, and on this are situated the castle of Bevere and the village of Oycke,



the farm of Banlancy, and the hamlets of Barwaen and Schaerken. The whole field of battle is about four miles square.

The French army were drawn up behind the Norken in two lines, occupying the village of Mullem in front, and well defended on their flanks; and had they remained firm in this position it is doubtful whether the confederate forces, after their long march, could have ventured on an attack the same evening. It was already four o'clock in the afternoon and the allies were not formed—but the French were now as clamorous to attack, as they had previously been desirous to remain on the defensive. The Duke of Burgundy and Marshal Vendôme differing on this, as on every step that was taken in the battle, Vendôme advised an attack with the left wing. “Que faites-vous?” said the Duke. “Je vous le défend, il y a un ravin et un marais impracticable.” The Marshal had just passed over the ground, and knew it was otherwise, but turned away out of respect, although with deep indignation. The left wing of the French remained in position near the high road, and an invaluable hour was lost in making other movements. Marlborough observed the right wing and centre of the enemy now defiling along his front, and conjectured they would advance to the line of the rivulet near Groenvelde. Two battalions of the allies who had passed the river were already posted in hedges near this place. The whole front column of the allied centre wing, consisting entirely of British, formed rapidly on the height of Bevere to support this village. At this moment thirty battalions of the enemy's right debouched, as had been expected, and attacked the four battalions at Groenvelde. This small force disputed for some time the edge of the streamlet, till the Duke of Argyle with twenty battalions and some cannon hastened up to their support. A heavy conflict of musketry ensued, each battalion being engaged separately in the fields and enclosures which border the rivulet. At length the French drove back the British, who re-formed on the Bosen Couter, between Barwaen and Schaerken. But Count Lottum with the second column of infantry now came up, and at six o'clock advanced in his turn, recovered the lost ground, and drove the enemy back across the rivulet. As the troops moved up from the bridges, Count Lottum closed in upon the right. The Duke of Marlborough had requested Prince Eugene to take charge of this flank, which now extended as far as the Heurne village on the extreme right and turned back along the rivulet from Groenvelde on his left. A force consisting of sixty battalions was now in position here under Eugene. Cadogan had been driven, after a stout resistance, from Herlehem, to the high road that led through Mullem, but Prince Eugene came up to his support in good order and broke the line of the advancing enemy. General Natzmer at the head of the Prussian *gens d'armes* and *cuirassiers* then charged through the enemy's line up to the mill of Rojegem. Here he was checked by the advance of the French household squadrons, and after losing half his men the general escaped with difficulty by leaping over a broad ditch, and had to bring back his men as fast as he could; but this inroad created an immense alarm amidst the enemy's troops.

Marlborough's vigilant eye now discerned that the enemy had neglected to occupy the commanding ground of the Bosen Couter, above the sources of the rivulets by the village of Oyceke, and thinking that his right wing might be turned and cut off from the main body by a flank march, he requested Marshal Overkirk, who had just come up into position, to execute this bold and decisive measure with twenty battalions of the Dutch and Danes, and nearly all the cavalry of the left. The veteran, unmindful of age and fatigue, after his long march of the morning, obeyed with equal alacrity and spirit; and finding no enemy on the summit, he sent the young Prince of Orange, accompanied by General Oxenstiern, down the heights overlooking Marolem, who penetrated the defile in two lines, supported by twelve squadrons of Danes under Tilly, and came upon the enemy under the hill occupied by the mill of Oyceke. Here they encountered and routed the French grenadiers, evidently dismayed by so unexpected an attack on their rear.

Meanwhile the Duke had continued to gain ground with his left wing, and at length established his line between Barwaen and Banlancy, overlooking the rivulet, and thus came up on the right hand of the Dutch advance, and reached the hamlet of Diepenteeck: they then pushed their left shoulders forward by the mill of Royegein towards Mullem. Cut off from their own army, the French right wing slackened in their resistance, and were at length broken and driven back on their centre. Vendôme made a personal effort to avert the fate of the army by dismounting his horse and leading the infantry from Mullem to the rescue of their companions. But his exertions were unavailing. Happily for the French, darkness enveloped the contending hosts, and their position was no longer discernible but by the fire of musketry, which rolled in a narrowing circle around the devoted army. For Eugene now brought up his right wing from Heurne, and the Prince of Orange appeared on the heights in the French rear, leaving to the British cavalry to keep the enemy's horse in check, thrown altogether out of the action by the defile of the Norken in their front.

Vendôme perceived that the day was lost, and proposed to the Duke of Burgundy and a crowd of panic-struck generals to take advantage of the night to stand among the troops; but finding that he could neither persuade the reason nor allay the fears of the multitude, he consented to a retreat. The word was no sooner given than generals, officers, and privates, horse and foot, hurried off the field in the utmost disorder. With difficulty Marshal Vendôme, calling to officers by name, and conjuring them to maintain the honour of their country, collected together some twenty-five squadrons and battalions, and with these he covered the flight of the crowd in person. He posted some grenadiers to the right and left of the Grande Chaussée, which effectually kept off the allied cavalry, and he reached Ghent in safety. Here the commanders assembled in a room at the inn called La Pomme d'Or, to deliberate on what was to be done. The Duke of Burgundy was about to offer his opinion, when the Marshal Vendôme, peevish from his misfortunes, stopped

him abruptly, saying, "*Souvenez vous que vous n'êtes venu à l'attaque qu'à condition de m'obéir.*" All were astonished at this insolence towards a Prince of the blood, but the Duke had sufficient command of himself to hold his peace. Vendôme then declared that the battle was not lost, and that they ought to renew the action in the morning. No one spoke, but officers coming in from all quarters pronounced the army destroyed, and the confusion extreme. Vendôme then lost all patience, and saying, "Well then we must retreat," turned to the Duke of Burgundy and added, "It is what you have long wished to do." The Marshal then left the council and turned into his quarters, where he put himself to bed to recover his fatigue, and remained there for thirty hours, without making the slightest arrangement to collect his dispersed army.

On the field the battle still raged; a dropping fire, mingled with the shouts of men, showed that the work of death was not ended. In the obscurity the advance parties of the allied right, and some of the Prince of Orange's men from the left, met on the heights in the French rear, when they exchanged several volleys; but happily the error was soon discovered, and a stop put to this useless butchery.

The allies remained impatiently on the field of battle in the dark waiting for the dawn. Favoured by the obscurity, many of the enemy slipped unperceived through the intervals in the lines of the allies, and directed their flight towards the French position: a considerable number wandered to the posts of the allies and were captured. Prince Eugene availed himself of an expedient to rally the prisoners; he ordered several drummers to beat the French retreat, and sent about some refugee French officers to cry out "*À moi Picardie,*" "*À moi Champagne,*" "*À moi Piémont.*" The troops flocked to the summons; and he says he obtained by this means 7000 prisoners. A prodigious number of wounded of different nations lay all around on the field, and the first exertions were made at the break of day, by order of the Duke, to collect the survivors, and bestow on all without distinction the care and relief which circumstances would permit. It is a great characteristic of Marlborough, that he was always most thoughtful for the wounded; and it is believed that owing to his example camp hospitals were first established.

The French army when it took the field consisted of nearly 100,000 men, that is to say, 124 battalions and 197 squadrons. Marlborough's army commenced the campaign with 112 battalions and 180 squadrons and 113 pieces of artillery. The allies are said to have lost in the action 3000 killed and wounded. The enemy's loss was enormous, and for a moment paralyzed the whole French force in the Low Countries, but many fugitives returned to their colours. The cause of so signal a defeat was, without any question, the want of concord that existed between the French commanders, which not only rendered their movements irresolute and undecided, but created much insubordination among both officers and soldiers. From the rapidity of the march, this memorable battle was fought with little aid from artillery on either side, and little allusion is made in published accounts to artillery in the field, or artillery captured, although it could scarcely

have been got away. There is no doubt whatever that Marlborough forced an engagement at immense risk, by fighting after a march of fifteen miles, and with a broad river to cross. He says of himself, "I did give them too much advantage, but I resolved to endeavour by all means a battle, thinking nothing else so good for my Queen and my country." On the 19th he writes, "We have this day returned our solemn thanks to God for the good success He has given us."

One of the suite of the pious Duke of Burgundy said to Vendôme, after the defeat, "It is all owing to this, that you never go to mass." "Bah!" replied the Marshal, "do you think that Marlborough goes oftener than I do?"

### 3. CONSEQUENCES OF THE VICTORY.

The confederate army rested two days on the field of battle, and on the 14th marched to Pont d'Espières, where they passed the Lys and levelled the French lines between Ypres and Warneton. The Duke de Berwick had been recalled from the Rhine to Vendôme's army, but heard of the battle on the 12th, and could not get further than Mons before he heard of the defeat. He advanced to Tournay, where he picked up about 9000 fugitives, whom he united with his army, and set himself forthwith to replenish the frontier garrisons from which Vendôme had withdrawn troops, to maintain his superiority above the enemy in the field—a vicious expedient, as had been seen after Ramillies, where the loss of a battle was followed by the loss of the whole of Flanders, from insufficient garrisons. The corps brought up by Berwick consisted of thirty-four battalions and fifty-five squadrons, and by rallying round it the remains of the Duke of Burgundy's army, it soon amounted altogether to nearly 160,000 men. These troops now took part in a camp commanding the navigation of the Scheldt and the Lys; but it was rightly judged, that though the allies were between the French army and Paris, yet Marlborough would scarcely advance into France with such an army in the field. Marlborough, however, strongly urged a forced march upon the capital, but for once Eugene was on the prudent side against him. The Generalissimo, therefore, set to work to raise contributions for the next enterprise he contemplated, which was to enter the French territory and to attempt

### 4. THE SIEGE OF LILLE. MARLBOROUGH AND EUGENE AGAINST BOUFLERS, VENDÔME, AND BERWICK.

This fortress was regarded as the strongest town in Flanders, and had been strengthened by all the skill and genius of the great engineer, Vauban. It was provided with all necessary store of ammunition, and a garrison of twenty-eight battalions, and three regiments of dragoons of the best troops in France, amounting to 15,000 men, commanded by Marshal Bouflers in person. To attempt to take it was regarded by the enemy as a project of rashness and inconsiderate self-sufficiency. The French army was now extended along the Scheldt, so that all the communication with Antwerp and Sas-de-Gand,

where the allies had their magazines, being now cut off, they were obliged to bring their convoys from Ostend, along a narrow causeway, exposed to an army as numerous as that with which they now sat down, on the 13th of August, before Lille. Prince Eugene was entrusted with the conduct of the siege, and invested the city on one side, and the Prince of Orange on the other; while the Duke of Marlborough encamped at Heschmont to cover the siege, "and threw up lines of circumvallation both to protect the besieging and covering armies." The trenches were opened on the 22nd of August, and the operations carried on with that alacrity which is always inspired by victory and success. The Dukes of Burgundy and Vendôme being now joined by Marshal Berwick, resolved, if possible, to relieve the place. Their united force amounted to 140 battalions and 250 squadrons, and on the 2nd of September they arrived at Tournay, and crossed the Scheldt, and on the 4th they were in face of the covering army at Avelin and Ennevelin. Here the Marshals differed in the advice they gave to the Duke of Burgundy, as to attacking Marlborough, and the Duke accordingly referred the matter to the King at Paris, who sent M. de Chamillard to the army with his orders; he arrived in the camp on the 9th.

Marlborough and Eugene wished to level their trenches and unite in attacking the French army, who were placed in a very bad position, but the Dutch deputies opposed this desire. It afterwards appeared that Berwick apprehended such an attack, and thought it would have been fatal to the French army. In the meantime they obtained a lodgment on the covered way of the place on the 7th, after an obstinate action, in which they lost 1000 men. The Prince asked for an armistice, after these assaults, to enable them to bury their dead, but the old Marshal refused, lest the opportunity should be taken by some of the engineers to reconnoitre the works.

M. de Chamillard was shaken by the different arguments laid before him, and again begged to refer the decision to the King at Paris; but, at last, the orders communicated were—Not to attack the covering army of the siege, but to cut off all convoys that might attempt to arrive; without which Marlborough could not make himself master of Lille. Notwithstanding all hindrances, the convoys found their way from Brussels to the allied camp; but to prevent those arriving from Ostend, the Governor of Nieuport was directed to open the sluices to render the way more difficult. Thus they cut off all communication between the besiegers and what is termed, in modern military phrase, their base of operations.

Count de la Motte made an attempt to surprise Brussels, but found it too well on its guard. The Duke de Vendôme even thought of besieging it. In the meantime, whilst they were thinking of these measures, 5000 men from England disembarked at Ostend, and established themselves at Leffingen, where they intrenched themselves. On the 21st of September Eugene had a severe affair with the besieged, in which he was wounded in the left eye with a musket-shot, and obliged to withdraw, so that the whole command of the siege and covering army now rested on Marlborough. On the

23rd the besiegers made a lodgment on the counterscarp, having stormed the Tenaïlle. Bouffiers had found means to inform the Duke de Vendôme that he was getting short of powder, and accordingly a body of horse was detached on the 28th, under the Chevalier de Luxembourg, each dragoon carrying a bag of forty pounds of gunpowder upon the crupper. They were, however, discovered in passing through the camp and pursued to the barrier of the town, into which, nevertheless, about 300 obtained admittance; but a great number were killed, and some miserably destroyed by the explosion of the gunpowder they carried. The next attempt of the French general was to intercept a convoy from Ostend, coming with the troops who had set out on their march under General Erle. On the 27th of September Count de la Motte collected 22,000 men to intercept this convoy, which consisted of 700 waggons; to protect it, 10,000 men were collected under the command of Major-General Webb. This officer made such an admirable disposition of his force by the wood of Wynendale, and received the enemy with so close a fire, that the attacking troops gave way and fled, leaving 6000 on the field of battle. This fight lasted two hours, and cost the allies 900 men, but was the most honourable exploit performed during the whole war. During the action the convoy fled off, forcing its way through the enemy's forces, got to Menin on the following day, and thence reached the confederate camp, where it arrived safe on the 30th. Had it been taken, the siege must have been raised. Marlborough sent a detachment forward to meet it, or De la Motte thought he had done so, and was afraid to pursue lest he might be overwhelmed with a superior force. The Duke de Vendôme, finding himself so badly served by his subordinates, repaired himself to Bruges on the 2nd of October, and let in the water upon the lands about Nicuport and Leffingen to such an extent that the whole country was inundated. Marlborough, judging that Vendôme with his fifty battalions and sixty squadrons would now be shut up amidst these floods, marched by Rousselaer to attack him with sixty battalions and 100 squadrons, but the Marshal, who had already the waters in his camp, saw his danger and retired. On his retreat, Marlborough repaired to Leffingen to see if he could make sure of his communications, but the French, with a fleet of gunboats, under Langeson, had possession of the inundations. The English General, however, defeated this device by bringing the stores up in flat-bottomed boats to Leffingen, and thence conveying them on carriages with high wheels to the camp. Cadogan distinguished himself on this service, but he had some difficulty in getting up a quantity of gunpowder and supplies he found there. Vendôme accordingly determined to possess himself of Leffingen, but was obliged to undertake a regular siege of it, which was difficult, in consequence of the narrow dyke on which it was situated. De la Motte and Puygion then made a disposition to storm it, which they succeeded in doing on the 25th of October, when 1200 English and Dutch were taken prisoners, with Colonel Caulfield and sixty officers. In the mean time, on the 24th, the town of Lille capitulated; and Bouffiers retired into the citadel with the remains of the garrison, amounting to 6000 men. Negotiations

were entered into to occupy the citadel, but the Marshal was so extravagant in his demands, that they came to nothing.

Hostilities were renewed on the 29th of this month, when the trenches were opened against the citadel during the night, and Lord Stair was detached to scour the country between Furnes and Dixmude, to supply corn for the army. The French chieftains were, as usual, at variance with each other as to the course they should now pursue; and reference was made to the King, who again sent M. de Chamillard to the head-quarters at Saulsoy, where they all met in council on the 2nd of November. Vendôme was for attacking Marlborough at once: Berwick opposed it, and the minister thought they had better secure their position behind the Scheldt until the surrender of the citadel. Chamillard saw the inconvenience of such divided councils, and recommended the King to recall the Duke de Berwick, who accordingly left the army on the 14th and repaired to the army of the Rhine, which he joined at Strasburg on the 22nd.

The Duke de Vendôme did not however despair of saving Lille, and therefore the Elector of Bavaria was called back from Germany to undertake the siege of Brussels with 15,000 men. He accordingly sat down before the place on the 22nd of November and made an attempt to storm it, but was repulsed by the garrison, consisting of 7000 men, under General Pascal. Marlborough and Eugene no sooner understood the danger to which Brussels was exposed than they marched with the covering army to relieve the city. They crossed the Scheldt on the 25th in the face of the formidable works raised by the French, but abandoned by them with precipitation, to the surprise of the confederates, who had calculated upon attacking them. On their approach the Elector retired from Brussels, leaving behind him his siege train and even his sick, and Marlborough entered on the 29th, to the great joy of the inhabitants. Prince Eugene immediately returned to Lille, and the Duke posted himself at Oudenarde to maintain his communication with the Prince. The siege was now pushed on, and lodgments were effected and batteries opened against the citadel; terms were again offered to Boufflers, and after a most unusual provision conceded to the high respect and admiration for the French Marshal—that the terms should first be sent to the Duke of Burgundy for his approbation—he capitulated on the 10th of December. It was said that the allies lost in this siege as many as 17,000 killed and wounded. Of the garrison there were 5000 placed *hors de combat*.

##### 5. MARLBOROUGH RECOVERS GHENT.

The French generals never dreamed that the allies would attempt anything of consequence after the reduction of Lille, considering the advanced period of the year, and, therefore, the Marshals returned to Paris, after having distributed their army in winter-quarters. But their indefatigable antagonists were determined to strike another blow before their forces separated. Accordingly Marlborough, who had deeply felt the loss of Ghent, determined to make an attempt for its recovery, and invested it on all sides on the 18th of December. The garrison was very strong, consisting of 18,000 combatants, and

the governor had been ordered by Vendôme to defend this important stronghold to the last extremity. The trenches were opened on the 24th, and on the 25th the garrison made a sortie, which was repulsed. On the 28th the fire began with so much vigour from the breaching and mortar batteries that at noon the governor, Count de la Motte, sent a flag of truce to offer to capitulate, if not relieved before the 2nd of January, when the town and citadel were taken possession of by the Duke of Argyle, with six British battalions. Thirty battalions and sixteen squadrons laid down their arms. Then the enemy abandoned Bruges, Plassendael, and Leffingen; and Marlborough and Eugene repaired to Holland, leaving the confederate army under the command of the Count de Tilly. The French King was confounded and dismayed at these conquests in the Netherlands; nevertheless he abruptly declined a negotiation which Marlborough endeavoured to open through the Duke de Berwick. The allies, on the other hand, owed much of their success in Flanders in this campaign, partly to the boldness of their enterprises, and partly to the division amongst their opponents. They had some narrow escapes at Wynendale and Ghent, from both of which they were saved by the incapacity of De la Motte; had they miscarried at either the army might have been ruined. It has been doubted whether the siege of Lille did not impair the success of the war in other places. In this great enterprise, spirit and perseverance made amends for want of foresight, which was flagrant on the side of the confederates in the preparations required for such an undertaking. Indeed their success may be in a great measure attributed to the improvidence and misconduct of the besieged. Marlborough had doubtless put the keystone to the arch of his glory in this campaign, by defeating one of their best generals and most powerful armies in a pitched battle, and by capturing in his sight and in defiance of him, the great masterpiece of Vauban, commanded by the most venerated Marshal of France. He had also the wonderful good sense to decline the magnificent offer of the government of the province he had recovered, with an appointment of 60,000*l.* a year for life. Marshal de Boufflers, on the other hand, acquired great glory in France by his defence of Lille. It was thought a gallant thing for a man of his age and position to throw himself into the chief city of his government, and the King in consequence loaded him with every honour.

#### 6. WAR IN ITALY.

On the side of Dauphiné, in spite of all the vigilance of Marshal Villars, the Duke of Savoy made himself master of several important fortresses; so that by the end of the campaign he had secured a barrier to his own frontiers, and opened a way into the French provinces, by obtaining possession of Exilles. He moreover had made a favourable diversion in favour of King Charles, by obliging the enemy to send a strong detachment from Roussillon to the assistance of Villars.



## 7. WAR IN SPAIN. CAPTURE OF MINORCA.

The campaign in Catalonia was productive of one event that was deemed a great blow to the Bourbon King. Count Stahremberg, a veteran of considerable reputation, but of slow and phlegmatic temperament, and rather a scrupulous observer of military rules than a man gifted with a natural genius for war, was sent by the Emperor to command the forces of his brother. He arrived at Barcelona with some Imperialist troops out of Italy, on the last day of April, in the ships commanded by Admiral Leake; but they did not land in time to prevent the Duke of Orleans from besieging and taking Tortosa on the 11th of July, and Denia and Alicant afterwards. A handful of troops under the command of the Marquis d'Alconzal embarked with Leake and set sail for Cagliari, which they summoned to declare for King Charles. On the viceroy's hesitation the city was bombarded, and the inhabitants compelled him to surrender, so that the whole Island of Sardinia acknowledged Charles as Sovereign. The greater part of the garrison enlisted in his service, and a large quantity of corn and provisions was transported to Catalonia. General Stanhope had planned the conquest of Minorca, and concerted with the Admiral the measures necessary to put his scheme into execution. He obtained from Count Stahremberg a few battalions of Spaniards, Italians, and Portuguese, with a fine brigade of British artillery, and about 800 marines. With these, and accompanied by Brigadier Wade and Colonel Petit, an engineer of great reputation, he effected a landing on the island on the 25th of August, and immediately erected batteries against St. Philip, the fortress of Port Mahon. The batteries in a little time demolished the four towers that served as outworks, and made a breach in the outward wall. The garrison consisted of 1000 Spaniards and 600 French marines, under Colonel la Jonquière; and so resolutely was the siege conducted, that it was thought by the garrison that the besiegers must be at least 10,000 men. Numbers of the inhabitants had in truth heartily given their assistance, and General Stanhope ordered a number of arrows to be shot into the place, to which papers were affixed in Spanish and French, containing all sorts of threats if they did not surrender before the batteries opened. Brigadier Wade, at the head of the grenadiers, stormed a redoubt with such extraordinary valour that, two or three days afterwards, they beat a parley, and on the 30th of September capitulated. The Spanish governor was so mortified, when he learned the small number of the besiegers, that when he returned to Spain he killed himself by throwing himself out of a window, and La Jonquière and the French officers incurred their master's high displeasure. Stanhope then proceeded to Fort Fornelles, the garrison of which surrendered themselves prisoners to Admiral Leake, and thus the glorious harbour of Mahon, together with the whole Island of Minorca, fell quietly into the hands of the English. General Stanhope appointed Colonel Petit governor of Fort St. Philip and deputy-governor of the island; and leaving his important conquest, returned to Spain, where an unsuccessful attempt to surprise Tortosa finished the campaign.

## 8. NAVAL WAR.

The British fleet, under Admiral Leake, not only contributed to these enterprises, but fulfilled Cromwell's ancient threat, that England would make her cannon heard within the walls of the Vatican. The Emperor had forbidden the Viceroy of Naples, Count Daun, to remit any money to Rome, which the Pope resented, and began to raise an army and devise a plan for forming a league amongst the princes and states of Italy, for their mutual defence against the Austrians. Elated with the promises of France, Clement set the Emperor at defiance; he refused an audience to his ambassador; and his troops having surprised a body of the Imperial troops, he ordered them to be cut to pieces with great barbarity. The Duke of Savoy having ended his campaign, his troops were ordered to march into the Papal territories. They drove the forces of his Holiness before them to Bologna, which capitulated, and they even threatened to enter Rome itself. In the meantime the British fleet appeared at Civita Vecchia and threatened to lay it low, in revenge for the assistance or countenance given by the Pope to the Pretender's expedition to Scotland. Then the Pope's courage failed him—he disbanded his new levies, and received the Marquis de Prié on the part of the Empire, granted the investiture of Naples to the Emperor, and consented to recognize the Archduke Charles as King of Spain. Leake, however, took and destroyed many French and Italian vessels on that coast, and gave some timely aid to Count Daun.

During the course of this year, the English merchants did not sustain any considerable losses; the cruisers were judiciously stationed, and the trade was regularly supplied with convoys. The sailors had been looking for an opportunity of capturing "a plate fleet," and it was afforded them in the month of May this year, when Commodore Wager, with four British men-of-war, attacked seventeen Spanish galleons as they were creeping along the shore from Carthagena to Porto Bello. The battle began at sunset, and soon after dark the Spanish admiral's ship blew up with a tremendous explosion. The rear-admiral struck at about two in the morning, and a cargo of precious metal, valued at three million pieces of eight, was obtained by the victors. The commodore's share of the prize-money was valued at 100,000*l*. Several galleons with the vice-admiral escaped by running behind a dangerous shoal off Carthagena, and more property was destroyed than taken. Had the officers of the squadron done their duty, the whole fleet would have fallen into their hands, and two of the captains were in consequence tried by a court-martial and dismissed the service.

## 9. WAR BETWEEN CHARLES XII. AND PETER I.

In Poland Charles XII. pursued his campaign against the Czar. The two Sovereigns were so near each other at Grodno, that the Czar only quitted the town when the King of Sweden entered on the other side, having crossed the Niemen, two leagues from it, with only 600 guards. Peter learning the small force that accom-

panied the King, tried to surprise him in Grodno, but failed. On the 25th of June the King arrived at Borislaw Beresino. Here the Czar had formed an intrenched camp to prevent the Swedes from crossing the river. Having made a feint of forcing the passage, Charles ascended the stream about three leagues, threw a bridge across it, and passing 3000 men, at once fell upon the camp, from which the enemy fled without waiting for him. They retired to the Borysthene, whither Charles followed. He found 20,000 men behind a marsh near a place called Holozin, which could only be reached by passing a river. Without waiting for his infantry the King threw himself into the stream at the head of his guards, with the water up to his shoulders, and sending his cavalry to take the enemy in flank, he fell upon the Russian force on every side, and totally dispersed them. Of all the battles he ever fought this was thought the most glorious; he had shared great dangers, and he evinced some ability in his arrangements. The Swedes struck a medal to commemorate the victory in which they applauded him for his conquest, not only over hosts of enemies, but every natural obstacle. He now entered the Russian empire, and Peter made him propositions of peace, but he replied, "I will treat with the Czar at Moscow." "If the King thinks himself an Alexander," rejoined Peter, "he shall not find me a Darius."

On the 22nd of September the King attacked a corps of 10,000 men and 6000 Calmuck-Tartars at Smolensko. He drove back the enemy, but advancing through some hollow ways where the Tartars concealed themselves, they came upon the King, and killed two aides-de-camp who were about his person, and his Majesty's horse was killed under him. Charles continued to fight on foot with five officers that were still about him, having killed more than twelve men with his own hand, without receiving a wound. At length a Swedish colonel, with a single company, came to his assistance, and disengaged the King, who immediately mounted a fresh horse and pursued the Russians for two leagues further. Moscow, about 100 French leagues from Smolensko, was now open to him. He had, however, outstripped his troops, and was implored to await here the arrival of Löwenhaupt with 15,000 men, but to the astonishment of all, Charles would not wait, but quitting the road that led to the Imperial capital, set himself in march southwards towards the Ukraine, a country of the Cossacks. The celebrated Mazeppa was at this time Hetman or prince of this country. His story was a remarkable one. He was by birth a Pole, and had been page to John Casimir. Having been detected in an intrigue with the wife of a Polish gentleman, the insulted husband had bound him naked to the back of a wild horse, and set him to find his way where he could. The horse brought him to his own land in the Ukraine, where he was found, half dead, and taken and nourished. He established himself afterwards in the country, and having a superior intelligence he became at length a chief amongst them. Over the Czar's cups he had been called traitor, and he had determined to revenge himself; he therefore communicated with, and now sought out, Charles, whom he met

near the river Desna. Mazeppa promised to assist him with 30,000 men, and with every kind of supply and money. The Swedish army accordingly was directed into the Ukraine, and this accidental encounter changed the march of Charles XII, and eventually all his fortunes.

Peter discovered the Hetman's intrigue, and determined to obstruct his designs. The Russians fell upon his Cossacks, took his friends in arms, reduced his towns to ashes, and pillaged the money and provisions he had collected for Charles. Accordingly, after twelve days' march, when the Swedes had consumed the supplies they had brought with them, and expected to meet the Cossacks at the place they had appointed for a rendezvous, they were disappointed at finding the Russians there before them. Charles, however, as usual, at once resolved to attack, and, crossing the river (which he was obliged to do with cords), he put to flight the 8000 men he found there, and continued his march, uncertain what course to take, and even doubting the faith of his new friend Mazeppa after such an apparent violation of his engagements. At length he found him with about 6000 men, and a few horse-loads of gold and silver; and still relying on his intelligence and knowledge of the country, and on the attachment of these Cossacks, and burning with rage against their destroyers, he sent Löwenhaupt directions where to find him, who was moving onward with his reinforcement of 15,000 men, and the supplies, of which he had 8000 cart-loads, obtained with the money he had raised in Lithuania. It happened, however, that just as the Swedish general with this detachment had reached the junction of the Punca and Sossa, on the 7th of October, at the town of Lesno, the Czar appeared at the head of 40,000 men. Löwenhaupt, in the confidence of his national superiority, disdained to render the disproportion of his strength less favourable by having recourse to intrenchments, and without hesitation attacked his enemy with the troops he had with him. At the first charge the Swedes laid low 1500 Muscovites, and they fled on all sides. But Peter, rushing amongst them, ordered his rearguard to shoot himself or any man that would fly, and, assisted by Menschikoff and Galitzin, rallied his troops. The Swedish general, intent on joining his master, passed on without further regarding him, but the next day Peter again attacked him as he was crossing a marsh. The soldiers turned, and for two hours fought hand to hand, but though the Russians fell in numbers they would not retire, and the victory remained undecided. At four o'clock the Czar received reinforcements, and, for a third time, the fight was renewed and continued till nightfall with equal fury and bitterness. At length numbers prevailed. The Swedes were broken, overcome, and driven amongst their baggage; still they did not yield ground. Löwenhaupt had yet 9000 men whom he brought into line as readily as the first day he fought; he retired, however, a few miles to a better position, after having nailed some of his guns and burned some of his waggons. The Russians advanced again, and attacked the Swedes for the fifth time. Löwenhaupt lost half of his men, but saved the rest; and, after fighting five combats against

40,000 men, he passed the river Sossa at night, refusing the offers of terms which had been made him. He at length arrived at the camp of his master, with the honour of having well defended himself, but with neither army nor supplies. Thus the King of Sweden found himself at the beginning of the memorable winter of 1709, in the midst of a strange country belonging to his enemy, without provisions, without any communication with Poland, and having nothing to trust to but his own invincible courage.

#### 10. DEATH AND CHARACTER OF MARSHAL OVERKIRK.

Henry Nassau, Count of Overkirk, had greatly distinguished himself throughout the war of the Succession, but particularly at the battle of Ramillies, where he headed the brilliant charge of cavalry which had such a material influence on the success of that day. He was made a Field Marshal in 1702, on the death of Athlone.

This distinguished Dutch commander died this year in the allied camp at Rousselaer. He was a most gallant and faithful soldier, a warm friend, and an ardent admirer of Marlborough. Above all foolish jealousy and natural prejudice, he gave that cordial support to his great leader, which ensured unanimity throughout the inferior ranks, and did not a little contribute to success.

It is related of Overkirk (or "Auverquerque," as the French writers persist in spelling his name) that on some occasion he very nearly became the victim of his generosity to a Bavarian officer whom he had taken prisoner, and returned him his sword; the Bavarian immediately struck at his deliverer, and but for the presence of his valet-de-chambre, who saved him, the Dutch officer would have been killed: and that, singularly enough, Overkirk had in nearly a similar manner saved the life of King William at the battle of the Boyne.

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### 1709.

1. FRANCE MAKES PROPOSALS FOR PEACE, WHICH FAIL.—2. WAR IN THE LOW COUNTRIES.—3. THE SIEGE OF JOURNAY.—4. MARLBOROUGH IN-  
VESIGS MONS.—5. BATTLE OF MALPIAQUET.—6. MONS BESIEGED AND  
TAKEN.—7. WAR ON THE RHINE.—8. WAR IN ITALY.—9. WAR IN  
SPAIN.—WAR IN THE NORTH. BATTLE OF PULTOWA.

#### 1. FRANCE MAKES PROPOSALS FOR PEACE, WHICH FAIL.

The French had become so reduced by their constant ill success, and by the general decline of their credit, (the most eminent bankers of Paris and Lyons having been obliged to stop payment), that they entertained a desire to try negotiations with the States. M. Rouillé was accordingly despatched to Holland with general offers of peace. France hoped to take advantage of Marlborough's absence in England, to detach Holland from the alliance, but in vain. The States General admitted M. Rouillé very cautiously into their confidence, and gave notice to the courts of Vienna and London of what had passed; those

governments were unwilling to shut the door against all accommodation, and despatched to the Hague respectively Prince Eugene and the Duke of Marlborough, who arrived there on the 8th and 9th of April, with full powers to treat. The foundation of the proposed treaty was, that King Charles should be restored to the Spanish monarchy within two months. These preliminaries were readily agreed upon—the restoration of all the places in the Netherlands, except Cambray and St. Omer, to the French, and the demolishing or restoring of Dunkirk to the allies; the restoration of the German towns to the Emperor, of Savoy to the Duke, and of Newfoundland to England; the dismissal of the Pretender from France; and the acknowledgment of the King of Prussia's royal dignities. The great cause of the war, however, was but slightly touched upon. At length, after much discussion, Prince Eugene received a letter from the Marquis de Torey, importing "that his most Christian Majesty, "having examined the project of peace concluded at the Hague, "found it impossible for him to accept it, and therefore had sent "orders to the President de Rouillé, to notify the same to the potentates engaged in the war, and that it was to be hoped that more "favourable terms would offer themselves for the establishment of a "peace so necessary to all Europe, and consequently so much desired "by everybody." It has been very much doubted whether Louis XIV. was from the first sincere in his desire for peace, or whether it was other than a political attempt to break the alliance. He certainly accepted the preliminaries, which included a renunciation of the Crown of Spain; but unquestionably the ultimatum presented for his acceptance, that the King of France was to concur with the allies in expelling the Duke d'Anjou from the Spanish throne, was neither a very delicate nor a very reasonable condition to require. "If I "must then continue the war," said Louis XIV., with dignity and spirit, "it is better for me to fight my enemies than my own children." On the other hand, Eugene exclaimed, "If France has no better positions to make to us, the allies will treat of peace in the summer "with 150,000 plenipotentiaries." On the 9th of June M. de Rouillé quitted the Hague and embarked at Rotterdam for Antwerp on his return to Paris, and all sides prepared for war. The Duke of Marlborough set out the same day, to put himself at the head of his army. Eugene went to Vienna to report the failure of the negotiations, and to obtain permission to return and serve with the Duke's army. Louis XIV. sent Marshal Villars to command his army in Flanders, the Duke d'Harcourt was sent to the Rhine, and the Duke de Berwick to Dauphiné, to the respective forces which the French Monarch maintained on those frontiers.

## 2. WAR IN THE LOW COUNTRIES.

As the Duke of Marlborough had not trusted much to the negotiations for peace, he had taken care to have everything in readiness to open the campaign. On the 21st of June he assembled an army of 110,000 men at Menin; two days afterwards Eugene rejoined him and took command of the right wing, and the army marched and encamped

in the plain of Lille, on both sides of the Upper Deule. Marshal Villars assembled his army in the plain of Lens, and began to cast up intrenchments to cover his troops. His advantageous and fortified camp was reported to be too strong for the allies to attack, and it was decided to commence the campaign by the siege of Tournay. This was not determined on without an ardent desire again expressed by Marlborough to carry the war to the banks of the Seine, and dictate peace at Paris; and Marshal Villars has left on record his opinion, that the confederates could have pushed on to Boulogne, and laying all Picardy under contribution, have penetrated even to Paris; but if such an idea was indeed entertained by Marlborough, it was far too bold for the States General. Tournay was one of the strongest places in the Netherlands, but Villars had been misled by the Duke's movements, and believed that his design was upon Ypres, so that being under no apprehension for Tournay, Villars had unadvisedly weakened the garrison. It seems that in order to mislead him, Marlborough had ordered up his train of artillery to ascend the Lys to Courtray: but now, on the 27th of June, Tournay was suddenly invested, and with so much secrecy that the enemy could have no notice of the design, nor time to reinforce the garrison. The siege train was ordered back to Ghent, and to come up by water along the Scheldt to Tournay, and the Prince of Nassau was sent to surprise St. Amand, a post necessary to cover the siege, while another detachment went to take possession of Mortagne at the junction of the Scarpe and Scheldt.

### 3. SIEGE OF TOURNAY.

The governor of Tournay was not a little astonished and chagrined to find his town invested, unprovided as it was with necessaries for a long siege. The garrison did not exceed twelve weakened battalions and four squadrons, under the command of M. de Surville. The governor was a man possessed of admirable talents, and the place was strong both by art and nature. The garrison, though unequal to the defence of the town, was quite equal to that of the citadel, and the vast subterranean defences with which the outworks and glacis were perforated rendered the approaches highly perilous and difficult. On the 7th of July the trenches were opened. In proceeding by the sap, the besiegers came suddenly upon the counterworkings of the enemy, and both sides fought with bayonet and pistol in underground encounters. Mines and countermines were exploded on every side, some kindled by accident and some by design; and whole battalions were blown up, stifled, or burnt in the ruins. No less than thirty-eight mines were exploded in twenty-eight days of siege. On the 28th of July the breach was practicable, and while the dispositions for an assault were made, the town surrendered on conditions. Such were the courtesies of the time, that the next day M. de Surville, the governor, was entertained at dinner by Prince Eugene, and in the afternoon he and the garrison retired to the citadel. Villars vainly endeavoured to throw in a reinforcement of 7000 men, but the besiegers broke ground immediately before the citadel, and on the 5th of August

De Surville offered articles for surrendering the citadel, if not released in a month; but the King refused to ratify the terms proposed, except on the condition that there should be a cessation of arms throughout the whole Netherlands till the 5th of September. On the 15th of August the garrison made a sally which the besiegers drove back; but pursuing their advantage, and effecting a lodgment on one of the outworks, a mine was sprung, and 150 men blown into the air. On the 23rd a mine was happily discovered which would have blown up a whole battalion. On the 25th 300 men posted in a mine not discovered to the allies, were crushed by the explosion of another one below where they stood, and 100 men were suddenly buried under it. On the 30th of August De Surville again offered to surrender the citadel, but Marlborough rejected the terms. At length on the 3rd of September, his provisions being quite exhausted, De Surville surrendered himself and his garrison of 3400 men prisoners of war, but obtained the condition that they should be permitted to return to France, on giving their parole that they would not act in the field until a like number of the allies should be released. Thus, after twenty-one days of open trenches a place was reduced which was thought impregnable, and that in the sight of a numerous army of the enemy, who made no attempt to relieve it.

#### 4. MARLBOROUGH INVESTS MONS.

The possession of Mons appeared to be a matter of such great importance that on the 31st of August Lord Orkney, with a considerable force, was despatched from the allied camp to prevent the French army from getting possession of their intrenchments on the banks of the Trouille, which might impede the projected siege of it. At four in the afternoon of the 3rd of September, the day on which Tournay surrendered, the Prince of Hesse-Cassel with a detachment was ordered to follow Lord Orkney, and if he found him successful, to cross the Haine, and invest Mons on the south-west. At nine the same evening a third detachment under Cadogan was sent in the same direction. Notwithstanding the severity of the weather, the Prince of Hesse prosecuted his object with such unremitting ardour, that on the 6th, at noon, he entered the French lines of the Trouille without opposition, and established his head-quarters at the abbey of Behan. It has been computed, that with sixty squadrons of horse and 4000 foot, the Prince had marched forty-nine English miles in fifty-six hours, through bad roads, and in a rainy season. Marshal Villars, as soon as he heard of the Prince's march, sent the Chevalier de Luxembourg to anticipate him; but he did not reach the vicinity of Ciply till the 7th, when he found the Prince too strong to be dislodged; both armies now broke up to follow their respective detachments. Marshal Villars marched from his lines on the Scarpe, and took up a position between Montroeuil and Attiche. On the 7th Marlborough and Eugene with equal celerity established their forces so as to observe with particular attention the defiles of Wasmes and St. Ghislain, and the roads leading to Mons through the woods of Blangies and Sart. Mons was thus invested by



the superior promptitude of the allied commanders. The place itself was scantily provided, ill prepared for a defence, and with a very sickly garrison.

On the 7th Marshal Boufflers arrived in the French camp. He and Marshal Villars were great friends, and though he was the senior officer, yet, with the spirit of a Roman, he asked his King's leave to repair to the army and serve under Villars, as soon as he heard that the affairs in Flanders were on the eve of a decisive battle. The two armies were nearly equal in numbers, and both eager for the fight. The allies had 139 battalions and 252 squadrons, or about 93,000 men, and the French 130 battalions and 260 squadrons, or 95,000 men; while the former had 102 guns, and the latter eighty. Villars had obtained the consent of his court to risk a general action; and at a council of war held in the camp of the allies it was resolved, after debate and considerable opposition, that the advice of Marlborough and Eugene should be followed, namely, to attack the French as soon as they had assembled all their forces, if the enemy did not previously bring on an engagement.

Marshal Villars, however, instead of attacking the allies, as Marlborough had expected, resolved to intrench himself, and during the interval that the allies were waiting for the assembling of their forces, he had made considerable progress in the works. In this interval, in order to complete the blockade of Mons, and for the purpose of obtaining more direct communications, it was resolved by the Duke to attack by escalade the fortress of St. Ghislain; accordingly on the 10th, General Dedem accomplished the capture with equal vigour and promptitude, taking in the fort 200 prisoners, and five pieces of cannon.

### 5. BATTLE OF MALPLAQUET.

This was the most bloody battle of the war, and it has been doubted whether there were sufficient military reasons for either commander to have incurred it. The possession of Mons, either way, would not justify it, and it could not, so late in the season, much affect the issue of the campaign. The French Marshals were the least chargeable with the responsibility of the battle, because they acted on the defensive, and awaited the attack by intrenching themselves. But in the factions that distracted his country at this time, Marlborough was severely censured for having wantonly sacrificed human life against a well-prepared enemy in a well-fortified position, and the most outrageous imputations were attached to him for it, which, it is almost unnecessary to add, have never been justified. It was the only rash thing the Duke was ever guilty of. The responsibility may with most justice be laid at the door of Prince Eugene, since he has left us his opinion in his Memoirs, that he recommended a battle; and he appears to have been one of those ardent spirits who always most revelled in a fight. But if the battle was not the fault of the French Marshals, the position in which they received it was wholly of their choosing. It was a most singular one. No great communication crossed it.

It defended no passage of a river. It occupied no prominent ridge of country. It was merely a gap (literally *Trouée d'Aulnois*) between two considerable woods entirely occupied by farms and cultivated land, excepting near Malplaquet, where there was a small heath. The gap was about 4000 paces in width, a very insufficient position for two armies of nearly 100,000 men each to meet in combat. Accordingly the French army were doubled up in three lines, and Marlborough's force in two lines was obliged to refuse its right, and to extend a long way beyond the wood on that flank, in order to find room in position. The French threw up every kind of *épaulement*, *flèches*, *redans*, and *parapets*, in successive lines, and had even commenced a third connected intrenchment. These were strengthened by *abattis* and every natural obstacle. The defect of the position was considered to be that the wood of *Blangies* lying in a more parallel form to the French position than the other wood, called *La Lanrière*, concealed from their eyes the formations behind it—for although the French side of the wood was comparatively the more elevated (since several streams took their rise upon its surface), yet it afforded no opportunity of seeing beyond the woods. On the other hand, the gap was defended and raked on both flanks, so as to be almost unapproachable. "C'étoit une espèce de guenle infernale, un gouffre de feu, de soufre, et de salpêtre, dont il ne sembloit pas qu'on pût approcher sans périr."

Marshal Villars took the command of the left, opposed to Prince Eugene: Marshal Boufflers was honoured with that of the right, opposed by Marshal Count Tilly and the Prince of Orange. Marlborough was in the centre, or everywhere. Never in so narrow a space of ground were there so many assembled who were either in themselves great or about to become so; the Prince of Hesse-Cassel and the Prince Royal of Prussia, about to become Kings; the youthful Pretender, the Chevalier de St. George; Schulenburg, Lottum, and Albemarle, among the Dutch; Cadogan, Argyll, and Lumley, among the British; D'Artagnan, Legal, Puysegur, St. Hilaire, and Folard, among the French; Dolna, Spaar, and Rantzau, from other countries. In the French army there were no less than twelve officers who afterwards became Marshals of France; and on the side of the allies were Saxe, Schwerin, and Munich, all subsequently Marshals and leaders of armies.

As the morning of the 11th of September began to dawn, a mist overspread the woods and concealed the armies from each other. In the camp of the allies Divine Service was solemnly performed at three in the morning. At half-past seven the sun broke forth, and the fire immediately commenced on both sides. The battle was more a struggle of brute force than of strategic combinations. At nine o'clock Schulenburg with forty battalions moved along the edge of that part of the wood of *Blangies* called the wood of *Sart*, and went into action, whilst General Withers with fifteen battalions, which he had brought up from Tournay, was advancing on the other side. They were received with a furious storm of musketry from five brigades under the command of M. d'Alberghotti; but, nevertheless, began to penetrate

into the woods opposite Choux-Fleury, as fast as the obstructions they encountered would permit. The line as it advanced was broken into parties, and every tree became a subject of dispute. Scarcely did this attack begin, before Marlborough in person led on Count Lottum, with twenty-two battalions on the left of the former column, to the attack of the enemy's left centre. The Earl of Orkney with fifteen battalions remained in reserve, either to attack the right centre or be within reach to support Lottum. The troops, led on by Eugene, struggled through the hollow way, and made a furious effort to ascend the breastwork opposed to them, but were repulsed by the French troops, under M. de Guebriant, encouraged by the presence of Villars himself. Marlborough now placed himself at the head of D'Auvergne's cavalry to sustain Lottum, and the Duke of Argyle brought up a British brigade, when the whole renewed the attempt, but the access by the swampy approach soon became impassable. The presence of D'Auvergne's cavalry however staggered the defenders of the intrenchments. Now, while a desperate conflict was going on in the mass of wood on the right of the allies, known generally as the Forest of Taisnière, General Withers, with the corps he brought up from Tournay, was gradually creeping on to La Folie on the other side of it, and this rendered it impossible for Villars to maintain the wood any longer, and forced the French back to their second line of works.

The interval appointed for the left attack having now transpired, the Prince of Orange, impatient of delay, and without waiting for the consent of Marshal Tilly, began his attack on the breastworks that defended the wing where Marshal Boufflers commanded. On the left of the whole line, Generals Hamilton and Douglas with the Scottish brigade in four lines entered the wood of La Lanierre, and encountered the grenadiers that covered the right flank of the enemy, under D'Artaguan. Fifteen Dutch battalions under General Spaar and Oxenstiern advanced against the intrenchments that covered the road to Malplaquet: other Dutch and Danish troops under Generals Wildren and Pallart were to advance on either side the enclosures that formed the farm of Bleron. The whole was supported by twenty-one squadrons commanded by the Prince of Cassel, and covered by the artillery of the several corps engaged. The Prince of Orange led the attack under a tremendous shower of grape and musketry, which killed General Oxenstiern at his side. Several of his aides-de-camp were also struck down, and his royal highness's horse was killed under him. On foot he rushed forward, and though whole ranks were swept down he reached the intrenchments, and waving his hat exclaimed, "Follow me, my friends, here is your post." But before the assailants could form, after having obtained actual possession of the works, they were driven from their posts by the impetuous charge of the French brigades, Royal, Picardy, Navarre, and Piedmont. Again and again the Dutch returned to the assault, and again and again were driven back. Spaar lay dead on the field. General Week shared his glorious fate. The veteran Steckemberg on the side of the French closed his long and honourable career, and Tullibardine, who had

sought honour in a foreign service, died the death of many of his gallant race. Hamilton and many others were wounded. The Prince of Orange had another horse shot under him. Again the onset was renewed, but it was no longer possible to force the enemy. The disordered ranks of the Dutch were beaten back over heaps of their slain companions ; and even their advanced battery fell into the hands of the French. Boufflers sent forward his horse-grenadiers to improve the advantage ; but the Prince of Hesse and his brave squadrons presented so firm a front as to awe these fresh assailants. In these attacks 2000 were killed, and the number of wounded was frightful.

Goshinga, the Dutch deputy, who had led on the troops of his nation with unexampled courage, and had been a witness of the unequal conflict, now galloped off to seek Marlborough, to obtain assistance. Not meeting him, he endeavoured to induce General Rantzau, who was posted with four battalions of Hanoverians near the wood of Tiry, to aid him ; but the General stated his positive instructions not to move without orders. After much importunity, however, and sad representations of the critical situation of the Dutch, Rantzau sent them a reinforcement of two battalions. Having despatched them, Goshinga again fought and at length found the Duke, who immediately ordered back the troops despatched by Rantzau, and directed the Prince of Orange only to act on the defensive, and not to renew the attack. Here Eugene came up to Marlborough, to represent the state of his right wing, where the enemy were about to renew the attack with increased numbers, and to solicit some more strength to meet it.

Marshal Villars, in the attack on his flank, had been alarmed by the unexpected appearance of General Withers, and his fifteen battalions, at La Folie hamlet, on the French side of the wood of Taisnière, and had ineffectually sent for reinforcements from Boufflers, which that Marshal was not in a condition to spare. He therefore reluctantly felt compelled to draw troops from his centre, so he resolved to send the Irish brigade, and that of Bretagne to the aid of his left ; and in the sequel, he sent also the brigade of La Sarre. It was this attack that induced Eugene to seek Marlborough, and now his return animated his men to fresh exertions, but in the act of leading them to the charge he was struck by a musket-ball behind his ear. His friends pressed his highness to leave the field. " What does it signify," he replied to them, " to be healed, if we must die here ! and if we beat, we shall have plenty of time for it." His battalions, for a time, recovered their lost ground, and pressed forward in great numbers towards a " coulie," or open glade, between the woods on both sides of Sart and Taisnière. In the *mêlée*, Chemierault and Pallavicini fell ; and the several brigades were mingled together in the thickest parts of the wood in considerable disorder. Eugene advanced at the head of five German regiments, and opened a destructive fire. These were charged with the bayonet by the new brigades from the centre, under the immediate direction of Villars, when one ball killed the Marshal's horse, and another struck him above the knee. Unable to ride, he called for a seat, that he might continue on the field,

until fainting from the anguish of the wound, he was carried senseless to Quenoy. The allies had during this time been driven back to the edge of the wood, from which they did not for the moment again attempt to advance.

Marlborough observed with delight the departure of the troops that Villars had drawn away from his centre to attack Eugene: it was one of the most remarkable characteristics of this great commander, that he had such firmness of purpose and resolution to carry out his plans, that he could coolly await the proper moment of onset. He had witnessed, with equal concern and admiration, the efforts of the brave Dutch troops under their Prince of Orange, and had refused to them, or had withdrawn from them, the succour that Goslinga had obtained by his importunities from General Rantzau. He had also responded to the representations of Eugene in person, of the state of his right wing, by very provisional orders, all that he could give at such a moment. Nevertheless, Rantzau was steadily kept to the possession of the farm of Bleron and the wood of Tiry, and Lord Orkney, with fifteen battalions, had not up to this time fired a shot. As soon therefore as the enemy were seen to draw their men out of their intrenchments in the centre, the Duke ordered Lord Orkney to make a decisive effort upon the redans that had been raised there. At a single onset he took possession of them, overpowering the Bavarian and Cologne guards, who were left to defend them almost unsupported, in consequence of the draughts that had been made to reinforce the left. Heavy batteries from the British centre were now brought forward and turned against the retreating troops. The Prince d'Auvergne, with thirty squadrons of Dutch cavalry, supported by the British cavalry under General Wood, the Prussians and Hanoverians under General Bulow, and the whole imperial cavalry under the Duke of Würtemberg and Count Vehlen, now moved forward and passed between the abatis and the French redans. Rantzau moved up from the farm and turned the troops of Boufflers at the same moment that the Prince of Orange, undaunted by his former ill success, stormed anew, and carried the most forward intrenchments.

The crisis of this sanguinary battle had now arrived. Boufflers himself, with the gallant host of the gendarmerie of France, after a short and cheering address, dashed upon the advancing hosts of the allied cavalry, and D'Auvergne was overthrown and driven back; but Lord Orkney had taken the precaution to post his infantry in the works he had gained, and poured in so destructive a fire, that it repulsed the gens d'armes in their turn. Marlborough now came up and led forward the British and Prussian cavalry under the command of Wood and Bulow, who fell upon the discomfited squadrons, but he presently came upon a formidable body of 2000 men, consisting of the garde-du-corps, mousquetaires, and other cavalry of the enemy. The onset was tremendous, but the French phalanx was unable to make any impression, and retired from the attack sorely shattered by the allied artillery. At this critical moment, the whole of Eugene's cavalry arrived at full

gallop, headed by the Prince himself ; and the Prince of Hesse also pushed past the redans, took the right of the hostile cavalry in flank, and drove this intrepid and distinguished body behind the rivulet of Camp-Perdu.

Whilst the Marquis de la Valière and his noble comrades rallied the French household troops, and the rest of the cavalry on the plain, Marshal Boufflers, on whom, in consequence of Villars' wound, the whole command now rested, cast an anxious and scrutinizing eye over the field. He beheld his centre pierced, his right dislodged, and all communication with his left cut off. Eugene had immediately availed himself of Marlborough's advance against the centre (which exposed his opponent's flank), to attack the enemy's left wing ; and M. de Legal, who had succeeded to the command of it, was pushed back into full retreat with his cavalry, and about fifty battalions under Puysegur. Marshal Boufflers reluctantly ordered a general retreat, which he effected, in the direction of Bavay, and across the Honneau, carrying with them many standards and trophies they had won from the Dutch. General Legal and the left retired to Quevrain. The allies halted in the plain on which the French had stood, extending from Malplaquet to Chaussée le Bois, and Voltaire says, "On compta pour une victoire l'honneur de coucher parmi les morts." Marlborough himself, however, thought very differently. In an unpublished letter to Lord Townshend, he says, "We have so beaten the French that I beg you will tell the Pensioner that it is now in our power to have what 'peace we please.'"

Only a few guns (about fourteen) were taken, and about twenty-five colours, but amongst them "la cornette blanche," or principal standard of the light cavalry of France. The Duke calls this action "the most *opiniated* he ever saw, and very bloody on both sides." The conquerors on their side lost no less than 18,250 killed and wounded. Count Lottum was amongst the former, and Lieutenant-General Webb was severely wounded. The 15th of September was set apart by Marlborough, and observed very devoutly by the whole army, as a day of thanksgiving to Almighty God for this victory.

#### 6. MONS BESIEGED AND TAKEN.

The trenches were opened against Mons on the night of the 25th of September, and the siege was carried on with great vigour under the command of the Prince of Orange, with a force of thirty battalions, and as many squadrons, appointed for that service ; having under him four lieutenant-generals and nine major-generals. In a sally from the garrison General Cadogan was wounded, a circumstance of deep concern to the Duke, but it was not seriously. On the 9th of October a lodgment was effected on the covert way, and on the 16th another on the counterscarp. On the 20th the breaches were declared practicable. The danger impending over Mons at length induced the French commander to risk something for its relief. Marshal Berwick had been recalled from Italy to assist Marshal Boufflers, and joined the main army, near Quesnoy, on the 18th. He

immediately recommended a reconnoissance, and found the covering army posted with the left towards the Upper Trouille, and the right towards the Haine, their front covered by woods and marshes. This position was deemed too strong to risk the consequences of an attack. The Governor Grimaldi therefore, to avoid the effect of an immediate assault, beat a parley on the 20th, and capitulated. With the taking of Mons both armies retired into winter-quarters on the 22nd of October.

#### 7. WAR ON THE RHINE.

The campaign on the Rhine produced nothing but one sharp encounter on the 26th of August, between a detachment of the French army, commanded by the Count Dubourg, and a body of the Imperialists under Count Mercy, who had passed the Rhine in order to penetrate into Franche Comté. With his army divided by the river, De Mercy was met at Rumersheim, and was worsted in the encounter, with the loss of 2000 men, when he was obliged to repass the river and retire to Fribourg.

#### 8. WAR IN ITALY.

In Piedmont Field-Marshal Daun commanded the confederates in the room of the Duke of Savoy, who refused to take the field till some differences between the Emperor and him should be adjusted. The French troops were commanded by the Duke de Berwick, and consisted of eighty-four battalions and thirty squadrons. His headquarters were at Briançon in Dauphiné. Daun's design was to besiege Briançon, but the Duke de Berwick had correctly informed himself of its means of defence, and with much prudence he intrenched himself on the heights surrounding the place, encamping the bulk of his army in the valley of Monnestier, so that he completely frustrated the intention of the imperialist general. On the 7th of August, however, Daun advanced from Turin to Suza, and on the 28th had an affair near Conflans, with the division under M. de Thouy, and made himself master of Annecy. On the 23rd of August Berwick defeated and entirely dispersed the Camisars, near Vernoux, and being then summoned to repair to the command of the army near Mons, as above stated, he now quitted Italy.

#### 9. WAR IN SPAIN.

The course of military operations in the Peninsula, though far from being decisive, had this year been favourable to the Bourbon King. On the 7th of May the Portuguese and English, under the Marquis de la Frontiera and Lord Galway, had been again defeated at La Gudina, on the frontier of Estremadura, by the Spaniards, under the Marquis de Bay. The Portuguese general, contrary to the advice of Lord Galway, passed the river with most of his forces: they were immediately charged by the Spaniards, who were three times bravely repulsed by the English and Portuguese infantry. De Bay, commanding the Spaniards, then made a charge upon some raw Portuguese cavalry, who were routed, with the loss of some guns. Galway rashly advancing to recover these guns, with two other

English battalions, displayed, as usual, far more personal courage than military skill. Major-General Sankey, the Earl of Barrymore, Brigadier Pearce, and the Conde de San Juan, a Portuguese general, with two British battalions and one Spanish, newly raised, were overcome, and obliged to surrender themselves prisoners of war: Lord Galway escaped with difficulty, and the remaining English, with some Portuguese infantry, still presented an unbroken front to the enemy, and made an orderly retreat. The Spaniards obtained the victory without sharing it with their French allies, and it was a very complete one. The allies are said to have left 1700 on the field.

On the east of the Peninsula, the castle of Alicant, guarded by two English regiments, had been besieged, and held out, during the whole winter. At length D'Ashfeldt, finding all other means ineffectual, ordered the rock to be undermined, and gave notice of it to the Governor Syburg, inviting him to send out two officers to see the condition of the work. This offer having been accepted, D'Ashfeldt in person accompanied them to the mine, and told them he could not bear the thought of seeing so many brave men perish in the ruins of a place they had so gallantly defended. He then gave the governor twenty-four hours to consider the resolution he should take. Syburg, with an obstinacy that savoured more of stupidity than of valour, where no military operations were depending on the surrender of the place sooner or later, was deaf to this appeal; and the explosion took place, carrying the governor and many officers to destruction. Notwithstanding this dreadful incident, Colonel d'Albon, who succeeded to the command, resolved to defend the citadel to the last extremity. An attempt was made to relieve it by an expedition under Sir Edward Whitaker, which arrived off Alicant on the 15th of April, but the enemy had erected such works as effectually prevented them from landing; and at last, General Stanhope, who was on board the "Northumberland," entered into terms for the garrison, which marched out with all the honours of war, and embarking on board Whitaker's squadron, were transported to Minorca. Nothing was gained this year by the allies but the town of Balaguer, on the frontier of Catalonia, which General Stahremberg reduced, and he put a strong garrison into it before he went into winter-quarters. Marshal Bezons commanded the French forces in the Peninsula this year, but was thought to have been too supine in all his operations, and as King Philip was not satisfied with him, he returned to France.

#### 10. THE BATTLE OF PULTOWA.

Charles XII. had now taught the art of war to his enemies, who had discovered how to take advantage of his errors, and to foil him at his own weapons. With the reckless daring of his character, he had resolved to dethrone the Czar, as he had dethroned the King of Poland, and accordingly marched into the heart of Russia. Towards the month of April, he found that his whole Swedish army, who had survived through the coldest winter in the Ukraine, was but 18,000



Swedes, and the sole ally who remained true to him was Mazeppa, who had brought a body of Cossacks and others, which raised the force of the King to 30,000 men of all kinds. Towards the end of May he passed the Dnieper, and determined to invest Poltawa, or Pultava, a considerable town on the river Vorskla. Menschikoff, who commanded the Russian army opposed to Charles, threw reinforcements into the town; and the garrison made sorties, sprang mines, and defended themselves according to rule; but on the 27th the Czar himself advanced to its relief with an army of 70,000 combatants. The King attacked one of the advancing detachments, and in the skirmish received so severe a wound in the heel, that it was thought he must lose his leg; but a bold surgeon thought he could save this necessity by making incisions. With characteristic endurance he ordered the doctor to proceed at once to his task, and holding his own leg said, "Cut away—cut boldly, don't be afraid." Unable from his wound to command his army, he ordered Reinschild to attack the Czar on the 8th of July. The Czar had crossed the river a league from Pultowa, and formed his camp behind seven redoubts mounted with cannon. The Swedes left 3000 men in the trenches, and all but four pieces of artillery, with which they advanced to the attack—Charles himself leading, carried on a litter.

The battle began at half-past four in the morning. The Swedish cavalry advanced to the attack of the Muscovite left wing. Menschikoff received them with his Russian cavalry placed between redoubts lined with guns. Notwithstanding, the Russian cavalry were overthrown: and the Czar going forward to rally them, received a ball in his hat. Menschikoff had three horses killed under him. The Muscovites now charged the Swedes, who gave way; and the Swedish General Schlippenbach was taken prisoner. The Russian infantry, defiling from their intrenchments, on this advanced to attack the Swedes. The Czar sent Menschikoff to pass to the right of the Swedish army, between them and Pultowa—a movement which he executed with great success, and dispersed a body of 3000 of the enemy, on his march, with great slaughter. Charles now rallied the rest of his troops in two lines; the infantry in the centre, the cavalry on the wings; and the Czar made a similar arrangement, and placed his seventy-two guns in position. At nine o'clock the battle recommenced. At the first volley the litter of Charles was struck and broken down, and the horses killed. He ordered another. Twenty-one of those who attended the King were struck down or killed. The cannon continued to decimate the first line of Swedish infantry, who at length gave way, and retreating on the second line, all took to flight. The Prince of Würtemberg, Reinschild, and other principal general officers, were taken prisoners. The King would not leave the field, but carried on the pikes of four grenadiers, and covered with blood and dirt, he called out "Swedes," "Swedes," but it was all in vain, their confusion was irretrievable. Poniatowski, who attended the King, gave orders in spite of him to the bearers of the litter to lift him on a horse, and rallying 500 cavalry, they cut their way through the Russian

line, and carried Charles away. The King's horse was killed under him; and Colonel Gieta, himself wounded, gave him his own. They fortunately came upon Count Piper's carriage, and placed him safely in it, and carried him off the field. Lowenhaupt managed to get together some 16,000 troops, Swedes, Poles, and Cossacks, to defend the King, whose carriage again broke down, so that he was again obliged to be placed on horseback. The whole force was at length collected on the 10th, on the banks of the Dnieper; Mazeppa and the King now crossed the river in a boat. Many men swam across, and a great many were drowned; the rest, with the General Löwenhaupt, remained on the side of the river, but being without food or resources they surrendered, in a day or two afterwards, to the Russians. Charles, with his escort of 500, reached the Turkish frontier in safety, but the Pacha of Oczakov did not feel himself justified in receiving more than the King, with one or two attendants; and whilst Charles endeavoured to negotiate, even they were made prisoners almost in his sight. The King then removed to Bender, where he was kept in honourable captivity for some years.

Upon this reverse in Charles's affairs, King Augustus pretended that his resignation of the crown of Poland had been extorted from him, and Stanislaus was not able to make any resistance to his resumption of it. The King of Denmark, who was travelling in Italy, immediately returned home and sent an army over the Sound, about the middle of November, to invade Sweden. But the Queen of England and the States General of Holland interfered, and the peace of the northern parts of Europe was secured for the moment.

The use of mines was not until this time much understood as a means in the defence of fortified places. They had until Vauban's time been employed and found effectual in the formation of breaches, but now mines came to be regarded of considerable service to the besieged, by not only impeding the progress of the besieger, but in inspiring his troops with uncertainty and dread. How brave soever in the field a soldier is, he evinces great repugnance in engaging in the perilous service against mines; and at Tournay it was only by the officers personally visiting the trenches and offering high rewards to the men, that they would enter upon the task of countermining.

## 1710.

1. FRESH NEGOTIATIONS, WHICH AGAIN FAIL.—2. WAR IN THE NETHERLANDS. THE SIEGE AND CAPTURE OF DOUAY.—3. WAR IN ITALY.—4. WAR IN SPAIN.—5. BATTLE OF SARAGOSSA.—6. STANHOPE AND HIS ARMY SURRENDER AT BURNHURST.—7. BATTLE OF VILLAVICIOSA.—8. NAVAL WAR.

### 1. FRESH NEGOTIATIONS, WHICH AGAIN FAIL.

Many events occurred in the winter, which in their issue were calculated to affect the war. The Whig party, to which Marl-

borough belonged in England, were driven from the Queen's councils. The French King seeing the misery of his people daily increase, and his resources fail, again endeavoured to resume negotiations through the States General, and sent plenipotentiaries to meet the Dutch Envoy, who arrived at Moesdyk on the 19th of March. The States sent a petition to the Queen of England, to send over the Duke of Marlborough to meet them, who forthwith came over and met Prince Eugene at Geertruydenberg. The substance of the conferences was communicated to Lord Townshend, the British minister at the Hague, and Count Zinzendorf, as well as to the Pensionary Heinsius, and the negotiations were continued, notwithstanding many interruptions, until the 25th of July, when the French plenipotentiaries returned to France *re infectâ*.

## 2. WAR IN THE NETHERLANDS. THE SIEGE AND CAPTURE OF DOUAY.

These conferences however did not retard the operations of the campaign. Prince Eugene and the Duke of Marlborough assembled as early as March all the forces which were quartered in Flanders and Brabant. On the 20th of April they suddenly advanced to Pont-à-Vendin, in order to attack the lines on which the French had been at work all the winter, to cover Douay and other frontier towns, which were now threatened by the allies. The troops left for the defence of the lines retired without opposition, and bridges being laid across the river Scarpe, Marlborough crossed with his division, at Pont-à-Vendin, and encamped at Vitry. Eugene on the other side invested Douay, at the head of 60,000 men. The lines of circumvallation were commenced on the 25th of April, and two days after two camps were established at Bouvigny and Rambaucourt, and the Duke's head-quarters were placed at the Abbaye de Flines. Marshal Villars still commanded the French army, which was exceedingly numerous and well appointed: for the distress that prevailed in that kingdom sent thousands to serve in the ranks to save themselves from hunger. The Marshal crossed the Scheldt, and encamped at Bouchain, to give battle to the confederates, who immediately made a change in their dispositions to receive him. Having reconnoitred the position of the allied generals, however, Villars, by the King's order, marched back to the heights of St. Lawrence, where he fixed his camp. His aim thenceforward appeared to be only to interrupt the siege by continual alarms, and to permit the garrison, which was numerous, and under the command of the Marquis Albergotti, to make a number of successful sorties.

Douay was a fortress of considerable strength; less populous than Lille, it embraced a larger extent of ground. It is situated on a plain, and traversed by the river Scarpe. Within the distance of cannon-shot is Fort Scarpe, an irregular pentagon, surrounded with a wet ditch, with an outward fosse, and with sluices to form an inundation. It was garrisoned by three battalions and six companies, besides artillery. The celebrated Valory was the chief engineer in the place.

The customary arrangements and preparations having been

made, the trenches were opened on the night of the 5th of May. Two attacks were contemplated, one against the gate of Equerchin, on the west, and the other against that of Ocre, towards the north. The attacks were conducted by the Prince of Orange, and the Prince of Anhalt-Dessau: the former with twenty battalions, and the latter with forty battalions of Prussians, and as many squadrons, under his command. On the 7th the parallels had been carried up to 250 paces of the palisades, when a sortie of 1000 infantry and 200 cavalry, under the Duke of Montemar, gave the besiegers a severe check. The regiment of Sutton, which covered the workmen, was nearly cut to pieces, and that of Smith suffered greatly. But the assailants were at length repulsed and driven back with loss. On the 9th the siege train, consisting of 200 pieces (eighty of which were 24-pounders), arrived in camp, with a large supply of ammunition from Tournay. The approaches proceeded now with redoubled speed, and on the 11th the besiegers not only reached the outer ditch, but erected a battery of twenty-four cannon and eight mortars on each attack, and on the 21st carried their approaches on to the covert way, notwithstanding a sally from the besieged. On the 23rd, at night, a fourth attempt was made on the trenches, but with no better success.

During these transactions Marshal Villars held a great council of war at Cambray, in which it was resolved to assemble the French army, and attempt something for the relief of Douay. Accordingly having called in some reinforcements from the Upper Rhine, and having drawn together all his troops, the French Marshal threw bridges over the Scheldt, as if he intended to attack the Dutch between that river and the Scarpe; and he then turned to the latter river and threw eight bridges over it, between Athies and Avesnes, by means of which he crossed his army on the 30th, and entered into the plains of Lens at the head of 153 battalions and 262 squadrons. The army of Marlborough and Eugene was nearly of the same strength, 155 battalions and 262 squadrons. Meanwhile the allied generals had not been neglectful of their usual precautions, and had marked defensive positions on either side the river Scarpe—the one crossing the road from Valenciennes, and the other on the side of Lens and Arras. They had thrown twenty bridges over the river, and made roads of sufficient width for the march of the army in columns in either direction. The Duke's army formed up, with Arleux on his left, and Vitry on his right, and the Prince Eugene's across the Scarpe, still further on his right, near Equerchin. The French advance into the plains of Lens became threatening, and Marlborough moved into Eugene's position; the Prince taking ground to the right towards Beaumont. The redans on the position were connected into one entrenched line by the 31st, extending from Vitry to Montigny. The head-quarters of Marlborough were now at Equerchin, and those of Eugene at Henin-Lietard. On the 1st of June Marshal Villars advanced at the head of a strong escort, within musket-shot, to reconnoitre the allied position; but instead of attacking it, as he had given out, or as he was wont to say with haughtiness,

braggadocio, "mis la grippe sur eux," he marched back and retired to the height of St. Lawrence, behind Lens. Berwick then seeing no prospect of battle, quitted the Low Countries and returned to his command in Dauphiné. The allies now judging from Villars' movements that he did not design to attack them, but only to retard the siege, sent the troops back which they had drawn from before Douay, and taking all possible precautions to guard the lines, returned to the siege, which had been delayed by these movements. The besieged continued to make vigorous sallies, but on the 5th of June the besiegers made several lodgments on the ravelins; and on the 10th got up a battery of five pieces of cannon to plunge into the covert way. On the 15th they perfected a lodgment upon the right attack, and began their breaching batteries, which effected a practical breach on the 19th. The assault took place that night, but it was met with so vigorous a resistance from the garrison, that it failed, with a loss of 720 of the assailants. On the 22nd of June the trenches were opened before Fort Scarpe, and carried on by sap. On the 24th the besiegers again stormed the two ravelins, took them, and lodged themselves in the same, with small resistance. On the 25th the garrison offered to capitulate for the town only, without including Fort Scarpe, which was refused; and on the 26th terms were settled, both for that place and the town. The garrison, reduced to 4527 effective men, received the most favourable terms; and a due tribute of respect was paid to Albergoti, who had retarded the surrender to the last moment, and only yielded at last after fifty-two days' open trenches. The loss of the allies in this siege amounted to 2142 killed, and 5865 wounded.

The allies then intended to move upon the frontier town of Arras, but Villars occupied so strongly intrenched a camp to cover that town, that they did not deem it practicable to attack it. Accordingly on the 15th of July, turning to an easier prey, they resolved to besiege Bethune, the capture of which would facilitate the reduction of Airo and St. Venant, and thus establish a communication through Lille with Abbeville and Calais. This was defended by Monsieur Puy Vauban, nephew of the Marshal, and was garrisoned by 9000 men. The works were strong, but they wanted the necessary supplies for a long resistance, and it surrendered on the 29th of August. Villars marched out of his intrenchments with a view to raise the siege, but not thinking proper to hazard an engagement, contented himself with some warm skirmishing, and retreated, so as to avoid a battle, and at the same time to cover the roads leading into France. The allies then besieged St. Venant and Aire, which were taken without much difficulty, and they afterwards broke up for winter-quarters.

It was observed, both by friends and foes, that Marlborough was not this year the same man he had been. His confidence in himself, and his cheerfulness, had abandoned him. It was proposed to him to attack Boulogne, and open that way to Paris, but he contented himself with the capture of fourth-rate towns, and appeared rather to have his thoughts on the affairs of home than on his campaign in France. There can be no doubt that Marshal Villars

acted with consummate judgment and ability in the campaign, by avoiding a battle which, if lost, would have opened the interior of the kingdom to the allied generals;—as also by directing his attention to the preservation of Arras and Ypres, which were of much greater importance to the protection of France than the places captured by the allies.

### 3. WAR IN ITALY.

Nothing considerable passed on the Rhine this year, both sides being equally unable to enter upon action. On the side of Italy the Duke de Berwick returned to Briançon, on the 27th of June, and took the command, with seventy battalions and thirty squadrons, including garrisons. Count Daun still commanded the imperial army, consisting of a movable force of about the same numbers. On the 10th of July Daun crossed the Alps towards the river Var and Barcelonnette, and took Fort d'Arche, which surrendered in two days. On the 29th Rhebender advanced on the side of Mont Genève, but Berwick took such precautions, as baffled all the attempts of the imperial general; and on the 14th of October both Daun and Rhebender re-crossed the mountains, and went into winter-quarters in the neighbourhood of Turin.

### 4. WAR IN SPAIN.

Spain was much more fruitful this year than any other field, in military incidents, as if one of the wars could only be brilliant by the eclipse of the others. King Philip assumed the command of the Bourbon army in person, and took the field on the 15th of May by laying siege to Balaguer. The imperialist general, Count Stahremberg, too vigilant to be surprised, collected his troops and prevented this attack. General Stanhope, after attending his duties in Parliament, returned to Catalonia in the month of May, and there joined Stahremberg. These two generals and King Charles remained on the defensive for some reinforcements until the 27th of July, when Stanhope, leading the van, brought the Bourbon King to action near Almenara. For the first time the rival Kings were now face to face. Charles occupied an advantageous position on a rising ground above Almenara, but some delay arose before he could be brought to the fight, for it is said that Stanhope, eager for battle, was obliged to "hector the King into compliance." The sun was not above half an hour high when, having established a battery of six guns, Philip headed the charge of his cavalry in person, who were in two lines, twenty two squadrons in the first and twenty in the second, besides nine battalions who were formed up behind them. Stanhope had but sixteen squadrons with him, but he commanded the rest to follow, and the infantry to get ready to march. He then made a short speech to the men, in these words, "Keep very close, and do not break your ranks, as we shall else scarcely break them, for I am sure the enemy's squadrons will be as firm as a rock;" and as he dashed forward, the opposing horses closed, and he slew with his own hand General Amezaga, who commanded the guards of Philip. The Spanish horse, staggered and

dismayed, were entirely routed, and driven back on their infantry, who only escaped by favour of the darkness. This affair did not last an hour; and the main body of the enemy retired with precipitation to Lerida, which King Philip reached with difficulty: his troops were almost annihilated by the fire of the place as they marched past it and continued their way to Saragossa. The young Earl of Rochford and Count Francis of Nassau were killed in this action, with about 400 men. The Spaniards lost about 1500, amongst whom were the Duke de Sarao and several distinguished officers. A great part of King Philip's plate, several guns, and much baggage were taken by the allies. Philip now deprived Villadarias of his command, which he gave over to the Marquis de Bay. On the 9th of August Stanhope overtook Philip near the river Cinca, but they marched away in the night, and on the 17th he gained Saragossa and encamped his army between the Ebro and the Gallego. On the night of the 17th the allies crossed the Ebro at Pino, with 2000 horse; and two days afterwards a bridge was constructed, and the whole army passed unopposed, and ranged themselves in order of battle on the right bank. Philip's army rested its left on the Ebro and its right on the heights of Torralon, overlooking Saragossa. King Philip himself took post on an eminence, whence he had a view of the entire field, while King Charles waited the result of the combat at the convent of the Chartreuse.

#### 5. BATTLE OF SARAGOSSA.

The morning of the 20th of August hardly dawned before the cannon opened on both sides, but it was midday when the action began. General Stanhope had been out to view the disposition of the enemy's army the previous evening, and had observed that their right line was extended far beyond their left; also that their cavalry consisted of thirty-two squadrons, whilst his was only twenty. He accordingly ordered the body of reserves, consisting of eight squadrons of Portuguese horse, who were clothed in red, to be drawn up at a distance upon his left, flanking it—the general rightly judging that the enemy would take them for English, which, in fact, they did. He was, however, soon obliged to move his horse more to the left, in consequence of discovering in his front a very large ditch, famous in the history of Arragon, for here it was that Ferdinand overthrew the Moors and made such a slaughter of them, that the ditch was from thence called "*La Barranca de los muertos*."

But the troops waited a long time for the convoy of bread, which after all did not arrive till the signal for attack was made. It was much wanted in consequence of the rapidity of their late marches, and many men, pressed by hunger and thirst, ventured to go and gather grapes in the vale between the two armies, and were shot down by the enemy's advanced pickets. Major-General Wade came to the left before the attack commenced, and advised Stanhope to send for three or four battalions to interchange with his squadrons, which was done. About noon the signal for battle was given; when Stanhope on the left moved forward and soon came up with the Spanish horse,

which he found, as he expected, much superior to his force of cavalry, but the enemy, observing the red coats beyond Stanhope's line, ordered ten or twelve squadrons to march and attack them. This gave General Stanhope a less disadvantage in numbers, but the conflict was fierce and obstinate, and in the charge two of the allied squadrons were thrown into disorder by the enemy's fire. The Spaniards rushed on with such impetuosity that they almost reached the Carthusian convent where Charles was placed. This ardour of pursuit gave Stanhope the advantage; he rallied the squadrons, and in an instant fell on the Spanish line with such order and courage that it was broken. The second line made but a short stand, and in the flight many were taken and killed. The other wing, also of cavalry, was overpowered at the same time by the allied right, where Count d'Atalaya commanded. The enemy's horse on the left being gone, and the infantry now opposed to infantry, the battle here lasted for two hours with such slaughter that the field was covered with dead. The allied infantry, pushing forward, now plunged down the steep Baranca, and under a galling fire mounted the ascent, on which the enemy's centre was posted, and with great steadiness opened a destructive fire, which disordered the enemy, who fought with great bravery, but were overthrown completely by their rapid and impetuous attack. The new levies threw down their arms at once, but the Walloons made a resolute stand, and then retreated to the neighbouring height of Garba, where they were forced to surrender. The right and centre wing being now broken, the allies drove their opponents back to the walls of the city. In the meantime the Spanish left, under Mahoni, had put to flight the Portuguese red coats, and pursued them a great way, when finding out their mistake they returned to the position they had quitted, which they now found entirely bare of troops of either side; there they fell furiously on a battery exposed at the gorge, and cut to pieces all they found in it. As soon as Stahremberg was informed of this, he ordered General Wetzel to be on his guard against any surprise from these squadrons. "But it is no great matter," said the Marshal, "for if General Stanhope has beaten the whole of the right wing, we are sure of a complete victory." And so it proved, for these redoubtable squadrons soon galloped away and were seen no more. In less than three hours the victory was complete. The allies only lost 1500 men, but 5000 or 6000 of the enemy were killed and about 7000 men taken prisoners: all their guns and colours were taken. The army encamped that night in a pleasant and commodious position near the city, and King Charles the same evening entered Saragossa, and was received with the loudest acclamations. King Philip remained a spectator of his broken army till the fate of the day was decided. He then quitted the field and hastened by Agreda to Madrid. The Marquis de Bay with 8000 men effected a retreat to the frontier of Soria.

#### KING CHARLES ENTERS MADRID.

After spending nearly a month in his conquest, King Charles set out with Stanhope and Stahremberg for the capital. Philip having sent his



Queen and son to Vittoria, retired on the 9th of September to Valladolid, in order to collect his scattered forces so as to form another army. On the 21st of September Stanhope, still leading the van of the army, took quiet possession of Madrid, and on the 28th King Charles entered it in triumph, and, as became a Spanish King, paid his devotions to our Lady of Atocha. But the good fortune of Charles was of short duration; he sent forward a detachment to Toledo to bring up a Portuguese army with which he might again advance into the heart of Spain. But no Portuguese came. Stanhope proposed to secure Pamplona, in order to cut off reinforcements from France, but this salutary scheme was rejected. King Charles had the mortification to find that no *grandees* came near him at Madrid, and it was clear the Castilians were universally attached to his competitor. Philip was, in fact, still supported by the loyalty and affection of the country, and was preparing to return in force. The King of France, at his son's request, sent the Duke de Vendôme to command in Spain, and a detachment from Berwick's corps (thirty-four battalions and thirty-one squadrons) to reinforce his army. Vendôme's reputation was so high, and his person so beloved by the soldiery, that his presence was almost equivalent to an army. A great number of volunteers immediately assembled to signalize themselves under the eye of this renowned general. The Castilians made surprising efforts in favour of Philip. No one on the other hand stirred for Charles. Neither the court of Vienna nor that of London took steps to supply his wants, or to enable him to prosecute the advantages he had gained. Provisions began to fail at Madrid, and he moved away on the 11th of November to Toledo, leaving it open to King Philip to return to the capital when he pleased. On the 18th of November a council had been held, in which it was resolved that Toledo should be abandoned, and that Charles should re-establish himself in Catalonia. Accordingly, on the 22nd the Austrian Prince took his final departure, and under an escort of 2000 horse withdrew to Barcelona, where he arrived safely on the 15th of December.

#### 6. STANHOPE AND HIS ARMY SURRENDER AT BRIHUEGA.

The generals of the several nations began to march away separately. Stahremberg established his head-quarters at Cifuentes; and Stanhope with the British forces, amounting to 6000 men, arrived on the 26th of November in the little town of Brihuega. It must be admitted that this mode of retiring in the face of an enterprising enemy was a temptation of Providence. Vendôme saw his opportunity, and Stanhope, to his astonishment, found himself next day suddenly surrounded by the Duke's army. The French had marched three days and three nights with incredible despatch, and brought some foot soldiers with them on the saddles behind the troopers. Stanhope had not deemed it possible that the enemy could be so quick upon him, but he made a gallant resistance, and burned nearly all his gunpowder, before he was compelled to surrender on the 28th with all his force, prisoners of war, to the amount of 5000 men, with five generals, and all the colonels and officers of his

respective regiments. Stanhope was justly censured for having allowed himself to be surprised; indeed he had omitted to place out-guards on the neighbouring hills, or he might then have received timely notice of the enemy's approach. He detached an aide-de-camp to inform Stahremberg of his situation immediately on the appearance of the French army, and this general had begun his march forthwith towards Brihuega, but the roads were bad, and they said Stahremberg loitered on the way; at all events the English general had surrendered before his arrival, and the melancholy silence that reigned in Brihuega announced to the Marshal the fate of his companions in arms.

#### 7. BATTLE OF VILLAVICIOSA.

Scarcely had the English general surrendered, when, on the 27th of November, the booming of several pieces of cannon signalled the approach of the allied army; and on the 29th, early in the morning, it marched in four columns on Brihuega, with a force of 13,000 men. They found Vendôme with 25,000, forming up on a position near Villaviciosa. Between twelve and one the two armies began to cannonade each other; and the French, perceiving the weakness of their adversary, since the loss of the British, soon commenced the attack, flanking, and almost surrounding the enemy's left, where there were thirteen weak squadrons, who behaved very ill, and ran away as soon as they were charged. This so exposed the infantry, that two English battalions, two Dutch, four Palatines, two Spanish, and one Neapolitan—in all, eleven battalions—were either cut to pieces or taken prisoners; and Generals Belcastel and St. Arnaud were killed. Fortunately for the allies the victorious French fell to plundering the baggage, which was very considerable, and could not be got away. Besides which, many persons of distinction, (chiefly ladies and ecclesiastics,) who had followed King Charles, were in their coaches with all the riches they could carry off from Madrid. The French being thus employed, Marshal Stahremberg fought the left with great success till night, when King Philip and the Duke de Vendôme got off in much haste, leaving Stahremberg master of the field, with all the cannon—both that belonging to Vendôme, and that which he had taken from Stanhope, all which, however, they were obliged to spike for want of horses or mules to carry it off, and eventually it became the prize of the enemy. The Portuguese behaved singularly well in this action; especially the cavalry, who fell on the French infantry, sword in hand, and committed great havoc: 7000 of the enemy were said to have been killed on the spot, and a great many wounded. Stahremberg had however suffered so severely in the action, that he could not maintain his ground, and the French with reason claimed the victory; for the result of this battle gave Philip the throne of Spain. It is said that the King, when he fled with Vendôme, was so fatigued that he would have lain down to rest on the ground; but the Marshal, who already saw his triumph, said, "*Je vais vous donner le plus beau lit sur lequel jamais Roi est couché,*" and spread before him the standards he had taken in the battle. Charles was pursued by

Vendôme, and took refuge under the walls of Barcelona. And he who so recently had considered himself master of Spain, had now nothing left him but Balaguer and the two maritime fortresses of Tarragona and Barcelona, whilst Philip, from a fugitive, became in three months King of almost the whole Spanish monarchy. When this sudden change of fortune was made known to Louis XIV., that Monarch, in allusion to Vendôme, remarked, "Il n'y avoit pourtant en Espagne qu'un seul homme de plus."

Nothing of consequence occurred on the side of Portugal, from which Lord Galway had returned to England by the Queen's permission.

### 8. NAVAL WAR.

The operations of the British fleet this year were so inconsiderable, as scarcely to merit notice. Sir John Norris commanded in the Mediterranean, and after carrying reinforcements from Italy to Catalonia, they landed about 700 men, under the command of General Saissan, a native of Languedoc, in order to raise the Protestants in that province; but the Duke Noailles being detached by Berwick to join the Duke de Roquelaire, who commanded in those parts, this paltry force got back to their ships with the loss of 100 men.

Hostilities were carried on between the Swedish and Danish fleets with various success. The Danes and Swedes, though awed by the great principals in the war, were still hostilely disposed towards each other. The Danish fleet had, on the 14th of September, been exposed to a severe storm, and been much injured; and the Swedes imagining their loss to be greater than it was, went in quest of them, and on the 4th of October they attacked, with twenty-one ships of the line and ten frigates, the Danish ships in the Bay of Kiøge. Upon this surprise, when attacked, they cut their cables and endeavoured to gain the wind, so as to get between Copenhagen and the Swedish fleet; while the Swedes endeavoured to intercept them. This occasioned much cannonading, during which a Danish ship of ninety guns blew up. The Swedes followed up their advantage, but got two of their own flag-ships on a sand-bank near the island of Amack, which induced their whole fleet to come to anchor to endeavour to recover them. This being impracticable, they set fire to their two ships and saved their crews. The Swedes then retired, on the 7th of October, and the Danes pursued them, but with no advantage on either side.

The French Commodore, Du Clerc, with five ships of war and about 1000 soldiers, left Brest for the purpose of making an attack on Rio de Janeiro, but having landed they were overcome, when Du Clerc and his officers were butchered, and the rest made prisoners.

1711.

1. DEATH OF THE EMPEROR JOSEPH.—2. WAR IN THE NETHERLANDS.—3. MARLBOROUGH FORCES THE LINES OF BOUCHAIN AGAINST VILLARS.—4. BOUCHAIN INVESTED AND TAKEN.—5. THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH RECALLED.—6. WAR IN SPAIN.—7. WAR IN ITALY.—8. WAR BETWEEN THE CZAR AND THE PORTE.—9. BRITISH EXPEDITION TO NORTH AMERICA.—10. NAVAL WAR.

### 1. DEATH OF THE EMPEROR JOSEPH.

The new ministry which Queen Anne had called to her councils, after the dismissal of the Earl of Godolphin, was bitterly opposed to Marlborough, but did not yet venture to supersede the Duke in his command of the allied armies, which they knew would give umbrage to the Empire, the Dutch, and the other confederates; but the generalissimo soon found that his authority in the command was no longer what it had been. In order to repair the disasters of the last Spanish campaign, many of his best regiments were withdrawn from the army in the Netherlands; and an event of still greater importance diminished the military resources at his command. Marlborough set out from England in the month of February, and arrived in March at the Hague. He there conferred with the States about the operations of the campaign, which he had already concerted with Prince Eugene. About the middle of April his army was assembled between Lille and Douay, when, as the General was hastening to take the command, and had already reached Tournay, he received intelligence, from his illustrious colleague, of the sudden death of the Emperor Joseph, at Vienna, of malignant small-pox. Such an event was calculated to cloud all the prospects, and change in an instant the fate of the war, as well as the destiny of Europe. It secured to the Archduke Charles the vast inheritance of the house of Austria, and opened the prospect to him of the imperial dignity, instead of the doubtful and visionary expectancy of the throne of Spain. Prince Eugene was immediately called upon by the Empress, to act as regent in her son's absence, and to take the command of the imperial forces as Marshal of the Empire. Both his inclination and duty, therefore, detained him in Germany, in order to exert his influence with the Prince Electors to obtain the empire for Charles, and protect the diet from being overawed by the armies of France in the freedom of their election. The anxiety and suspense created at the different capitals of Europe, by this unexpected death, delayed the opening of the campaign, so that the contending armies scarcely came in presence of each other till the beginning of June.

### 2. WAR IN THE NETHERLANDS.

Marshal Villars had employed the latter part of the preceding campaign in forming a series of lines of considerable strength, with a view to prevent an irruption of the allied forces beyond the interior

line of fortresses which covered the frontier of France on the side of French Flanders and Artois; and early in the spring he quitted Paris to take his command, and had the satisfaction to find his formidable works completed.

This grand system of defence extended from Hesdin, on the marshy little river Canche, to Valenciennes on the Scheldt. Where this rivulet terminated, a series of connected redans stretched across the plain, until they reached another little rivulet, which they followed to its junction with the Scarpe, and thence to the village of Biache upon that river, passing through the fortified town of Arras. Along the whole line of this natural defence were redoubts, têtes-de-pont, inundations, and every sort of artificial obstacle. From the Scarpe, at Biache, to near L'Écluse on the Sanzet, a canal of communication was opened; and the line was defended by épaulements raised on the marshes and inundations of that river, till it came to Pallue and Aubanchoeuil-au-bac on the same stream; whence a redoubt and fortified water-mill crossed fire with the works about Arleux and the earthwork at Oisy, in which was a small garrison which defended the inundations at Aubigny on the other side of the Sanzet. Opposite to Aubanchoeuil-au-bac was a redoubt, and farther on, the fortified town of Bouchain at the junction of the Scheldt and Sanzet. Têtes-de-pont covered the course of the former stream to Valenciennes, and from thence ran a series of intrenchments to the Sambre by Quesnoy and Landrecy, and by Maubeuge and Charleroi, to its junction with the Meuse at Namur.

After passing nearly three weeks in a war of convoys with the enemy, Marlborough had the satisfaction of receiving, on the 23rd of May, at his head-quarters in the Abbey of Auehin, his friend and colleague Prince Eugene, who got away from his duties in the Empire and assisted at the festival, in which the British commander and his companions in arms commemorated the anniversary of the battle of Ramillies. On the 28th the two generals reviewed the whole allied army, consisting of 141 battalions and 300 squadrons, with 111 pieces of artillery. Marlborough was anxious to detain his illustrious friend with the imperial troops in the Netherlands, for the purpose of prosecuting offensive operations upon the field; but Eugene had received positive orders from Vienna to bring back the principal part of his forces, in order to repel the expected endeavours of the enemy to thwart the imperial election. Accordingly twelve battalions and fifty squadrons were to be carried off from the allied army. To cover this movement, the whole army broke up at two in the morning of the 14th of June; and while the reinforcements to Germany moved off to the rear, the forces remaining with the British general marched by their right in six columns, and the two commanders parted from each other for the last time on the battle-field. They took leave with the deepest regret, and with no good forebodings for the future. Marlborough established his camp on the plains of Lens, with his right on the Souchet, near Lievin, and his left toward Equerechin, leaving the Prince of Hesse with thirty squadrons on the heights of Saily, on

## 122 MARLBOROUGH FORCES THE LINES OF BOUCHAIN [A.D.

the other side of the Scarpe, in front of Vitry. His force, after all deductions, consisted of 129 battalions and 206 squadrons. On the same day that the allies took up their new position, Villars made a corresponding movement opposite, but still within his lines; having his two flanks at Montenancourt and Biache, and his headquarters at Arras. His force also had been exposed to many deductions, but was still 131 battalions and 186 squadrons. The two armies were nearly equal in infantry and artillery, but the allies were superior in cavalry; and the French Marshal wanted draught horses for his artillery. He showed some anxiety to accept the battle which Marlborough here offered him; but the positive orders of his Sovereign were to avoid an engagement. The scarcity of subsistence was Villars' principal weakness, and the Duke and Prince had hoped that, had they remained some little time together, scarcity of forage would either have obliged the enemy to decamp from the lines, or have forced them to a battle; but the Marshal maintained his ground.

### 3. MARLBOROUGH FORCES THE LINES OF BOUCHAIN AGAINST VILLARS.

The Duke upon this, and after a view of the enemy's lines, finding it would be too hazardous to endeavour to force them, resolved upon a stratagem; and in the execution of this design, he developed that sublimity of military talent, which has justly stamped this campaign, as not the least scientific and glorious in his whole career. He observed that the triangular position of ground within the French lines, at the confluence of the Sanzet and Scheldt, offered a position so strong, that a small force having once attained it, could not be driven from it, but by a vastly superior enemy. He also saw that so long as the enemy held the redoubt of Aubigny, and the works about Arleux and Pallue, it was impossible to accomplish the possession of this position. He therefore determined, as a preliminary operation, to attack these posts. Aubigny was carried without much difficulty. This did not seem to create any alarm, as the attention of the French was principally fixed upon the works between Arleux and Pallue, which commanded the current of the waters, and enabled them to impede the arrival of supplies to the enemy. The Duke now resolved to play on the impatient and lively imagination of the French Marshal;—first, by taking this post, to show that he could capture it when he pleased; and, secondly, by enlarging it and fortifying it, to delude him into the belief that he considered it of importance in a defensive point of view. These measures he expected would impel Villars to retake it, as soon as the allied army withdrew; and then finding the works extensive, and the allies menacing in an opposite direction, that he would be induced to recall his troops to meet the attempt, and to demolish a post which his antagonist seemed to value. In the first days of July a detachment of 700 men, with cannon, marched privately from Douay; and the Duke turned out suddenly at night all the pickets of Hesse's detachment in front of Sailly, to move down on L'Écluse to make the assault. The attack was conducted with so much spirit that the redoubt and water-mill at Arleux were

forced, and 120 prisoners taken, before Villars, who hastened to its relief, could arrive. No time was lost in strengthening the redoubt by a double ditch and palisades, and by mounting eight pieces of cannon and mortars. Villars was much annoyed at this capture, and seeing Rantzau's covering party retire back to Douay, determined to retake it by surprise. Accordingly, on the night of the 9th, the attempt was made in considerable force, by a combined attack on the side of the French camp, and by another on the side towards Bouchain, directed by Villars in person, upon the water-mill. The surprise was complete; and some sleeping troopers with their horses, were either killed or taken, with some booty; but the allied garrison still retained possession of the redoubt of Arleux. Suddenly, on the 20th, the Duke broke up his camp, and calling in his detachment, left Arleux to its fate, and marched off in the direction of Bethune, where he took up a position. This induced Villars to make a parallel movement to his left, still keeping within his lines, which were in this place, connected intrenchments extending to the head of the river Canche. But before he took his departure, he detached a corps of sixteen battalions, and as many squadrons, to carry Arleux, which Marshal de Montesquieu, who commanded, successfully effected on the 28th, after a short cannonade. After leaving a garrison in it of 800 men, the Marshal was ordered to march to the Sambre to join General d'Estaing. Marlborough loudly expressed his mortification at this loss to his arms, and his apprehensions that D'Estaing, with this reinforcement, would make an irruption into Brabant; but he nevertheless made no change in his dispositions on account of this movement, but advanced in person to reconnoitre the position that Villars had taken up. He declared to those who had access to his person that he would attack the enemy at all hazards, and revenge the insult that his army had recently sustained. Villars had been greatly elated with the trifling advantage he had gained; and continued to increase the defences on the plain in front of his post. It was at this time that he wrote to the King of France the celebrated letter, for which he was afterwards so much ridiculed; boasting that at length he had brought Marlborough to his *ne plus ultra*.

The heavy baggage of the allies was sent off in the direction of Douay; and six days' bread was clandestinely baked and forwarded from Lille to Bethune, in front of which the allied army was now encamped. On the 1st of August the Duke marched his army in eight columns to the front; and detachments were with some parade ordered forward to clear the roads in the direction of the hostile left. Several corps quitted and rejoined the camp; and Villars was much puzzled at all these marches and countermarches, of which he could not understand the object; but it had been industriously divulged that the British general was calling in his force to attack Avesnes-le-Comte. The French Marshal, no longer doubting that he was to be attacked, called in all his detachments; and the Duke had the satisfaction to learn that he had ordered those at Arleux to come in also and demolish the fortifications there. The allied army was moved

forward into position at Villars-Brulin, within two leagues of the lines; and on the 4th of August, at daylight, Marlborough, attended by most of his generals, ostentatiously went out to reconnoitre, escorted by the grenadiers of his army, under Brigadier Durell, and eighty squadrons of cavalry; the whole camp remaining under arms in front of the position. The deep-laid plan was now ripe for execution. Villars was already in the toils; he had exactly done all that his great rival had expected him to do; and all the preparations were now made for seizing the prize that was so longed for. Brigadier Sutton, with the pontoons, was sent off secretly to make bridges over the Scarpe, near Vitry, and over the canal of Arleux, near Gouezin. At about nine o'clock at night on the 4th of August, when it was dark enough to strike their tents without being seen by the enemy, the troops were ordered to march by the left, in four columns, without beat of drum; and with such expedition did they march through the woods, that before five in the morning of the 5th Marlborough had passed the Scarpe at Vitry. Cadogan had previously quitted the camp before the Duke, attended by only forty hussars; and an express from him reached the Duke at Vitry, that Hompesch and he had crossed the Sanzet at Aubanchoeuil, and without opposition, and were in actual possession of the enemy's lines, with twenty two battalions and 2000 horse. This force had been discreetly collected for the very purpose, from detachments and garrisons in the rear. The Duke instantly pushed on at a trot, on the receipt of this despatch, with fifty squadrons to join Cadogan; and he crossed the Sanzet before eight o'clock. As the cavalry came up, he placed them in position on the other side of the river, whilst he immediately ordered other bridges to be laid across the river at Pallue, by means of which the right wing of his cavalry and infantry might have a shorter route to the new position. The outposts were sent on to patrol the road over the stream and morass, at Marquion, and to watch the defile of Saulchy.

It was eleven at night before Villars received the first intelligence of the breaking up of the British camp; but he was completely confused by the reports he received of Marlborough's complicated movements, so that he at first regarded this rapid march as some manoeuvre, preparatory to a vigorous attack on his lines. He however kept his troops in readiness for marching, and at two in the morning, more specific intelligence arriving, the French Marshal put himself at the head of the household troops, who were with him on the right, and pushing on with them at full speed, ordered the infantry to follow. Villars himself advanced with such celerity, that he outstripped his cavalry, till scarcely more than 100 of the best mounted men remained with him. Impatient to know the real state of affairs, he crossed the morass at Marquion, and pushed through the defile of Saulchy, without the necessary precautions, when he was suddenly surrounded by the allied outposts, which the Duke's providence had placed in that quarter. The Marshal surprised, escaped with two attendants only, by an unheeded opening, which their knowledge of the ground rendered available to them; but the



rest of his escort surrendered without firing a shot. It was now ten in the morning, and the heads of the allied cavalry of the right wing were approaching the Sanzet, and crossing it at Pallue. They were soon followed by the infantry of the same wing, which entered the new ground by four in the afternoon; and before dark the whole position was occupied upon the triangular plot of ground before spoken of, that had been so coveted by Marlborough, within the lines of the enemy, and where he considered he could defend himself against any advantage. The French army, marching in five columns, now approached; and before the morning of the 6th, encamped within the same triangular plot of ground, with their right on Cambray, facing the Duke, who had the Sanzet and Bouchain behind him. Marshal Villars was hardly restrained by M. de Geoffreville from immediately attacking, but on reflection desisted.

By this masterly movement Marlborough had now accomplished his great design—he had entered within the French lines, which they had so vainly boasted to be impenetrable; and the design was so well laid, and so happily executed, that in the opinion of good judges it passed for a masterpiece of military skill; the honour of it falling entirely on the Duke, since no other person had any share in it but execution. Villars was deeply mortified. He had been overreached in military skill, and now could neither prevent the siege of Cambray, of Bouchain, or Valenciennes. If he took post behind the Scheldt, to cover these towns, he uncovered Arras, a place of still greater importance. In his vexation, he tried to lure Marlborough to a battle; but the old fox was not to be caught. He had gained his object without a battle; and he was now enabled to carry into effect the remainder of his plan without obstruction. In a forced march of sixteen hours, over an extent of thirty-six miles, numbers of his troops had sunk from fatigue. He therefore quietly awaited in position the arrival of his fatigue troops and rearguard. The Dutch deputies, who were always his bane, and who had always deprecated a battle when it might have been useful, were now urgent for an attack. Apprised that Villars had altered the disposition of his army, and sensible that the siege of Bouchain would be more easily effected than that of Arras, the Duke advanced his army about noon, on the 7th, almost within cannon-shot of Cambray, to prevent the French from crossing to the other side of the Scheldt. In the meanwhile he himself prepared to cross that river. Eight pontoons, taken from the enemy by surprise, were expeditiously thrown across the river below Etrun, and the same afternoon his left wing began to cross them. The rest of the allied army frustrated all attempts of the enemy to obstruct the movements. The darkness of the night aided the movement; and by the morning of the 8th all the allied forces had crossed to the right bank of the Scheldt. A body of grenadiers were alone left in the camp of Cæsar to cover the removal of the bridges, and by six in the evening of the 9th these also were withdrawn.

#### 4. BOUCHAIN INVESTED AND TAKEN.

On the 10th day of August the town was invested, and the siege

entrusted to General Fagel with thirty battalions and twelve squadrons. The Duke well knew the difficulties of the task, and how much his reputation depended on its success; and therefore he exerted himself to the utmost extent of his vigilance and capacity. He had to form trenches, erect batteries, throw bridges over a marshy river, make a causeway through a deep morass, and provide for the security of convoys in the face of Marshal Villars, who took every precaution that his skill and experience could suggest to baffle the endeavours of the English general. The French Marshal had reinforced the garrison to the number of 6000 chosen men, and had placed at their head officers of known courage and ability. He had, besides his own numerous army, the garrisons of Condé and Valenciennes with which to distract the besiegers; and he made every effort to raise the siege. Behind a dam was a cattle-track called *S'ntier aux Vaches*, and the French endeavoured to throw men into the town by this path; but measures were so well taken that the French were soon cut off from these ingenious enterprises. In the face of the enemy, and within pistol-shot of similar works, connected intrenchments were carried round the besiegers' camp on both sides the river. Such were the perseverance, activity, and skill of the great general, and such the intrepidity of the confederate troops, who had never exhibited such amazing proofs of valour on any previous occasion, that in twenty days after the trenches were opened, on the 14th of September, the garrison, 3000 strong, were obliged to surrender themselves prisoners of war. After the capture of Bouchain Marlborough was anxious to besiege Quesnoy, as being of great importance to the subsistence of the army, but the Dutch Government strenuously opposed the project.

##### 5. THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH RECALLED.

The conquest of Bouchain was the last service which the Duke of Marlborough ever performed in the field. He left the army on the 27th of October, never again to return to it, and on the 17th of November landed in England. On the 18th, early in the morning, he repaired to Hampton Court, to pay his respects to the Queen, and was frowned upon by that Sovereign, who mainly owed the character of greatness attributed to her, and the glory of her reign, to his unexceeded exploits. The hero, who had never fought a battle that he did not gain, nor sat down before a place he did not take, presented himself to his peers to receive indignities and personal scurrilities that are scarcely credible; although the peerage was at that moment more exalted in its reputation in his person than in any one member of the House of Lords. By the House of Commons he was accused of peculation, and ordered to be prosecuted. By the people he was received in silence. Yet posterity does not vindicate these persecutions. If he were guilty of the offences charged against him they were never proceeded with, even so far as to afford him the opportunity of repelling them. But it is advantageous to the public, that the military chronicler should record this treatment of one of the greatest men, in order that future commanders should be urged to the

exercise of their duties, without regard to the popular judgment of their day, but they must always rest under the perfect assurance that they will be justified by the gratitude and applause of that only just tribunal, which gives its verdict hundreds of years after they have mouldered in their graves.

#### 6. WAR IN SPAIN.

The affairs in the Peninsula were deemed of such importance this year, that the British Parliament voted a million and a half for the war. The Queen had conferred the command of her forces in Spain upon the Duke of Argyle, who was recalled from service in Flanders for the purpose. He landed at Barcelona on the 29th of May, and found the troops in sad want of subsistence. Count Stahremberg still commanded the Imperialists for Charles, and Vendôme commanded the French army, which was in the most wretched condition. The Duke of Argyle was obliged to delay his march for the promised remittances and supplies, but as none came, he borrowed what he could and took the field. Stahremberg advanced against the enemy at the pass of Prato del Rey, attacked him, and repulsed him with considerable advantage. After this action Argyle fell sick and was obliged to return to Barcelona. The Duke de Vendôme sat down before the Castle of Cardona, which was vigorously defended, till the end of the year, when a detachment, under Colonel Edward Stanhope, was sent to relieve the town, which succeeded in this object, but with the loss of their commander. Towards the end of December Stahremberg sent a force to raise this siege, which defeated the besiegers, killed 2000, and took all their artillery, ammunition, and baggage. Stahremberg was unable to follow up the blow, for Argyle's remonstrances had been so ineffectual for the army that nothing more was done, and he returned to England. Philip re-entered Saragossa, and the Duke de Noailles took Gerona after a long siege. Charles quitted Spain for the Empire in September.

#### 7. WAR IN ITALY.

In Italy the Duke of Savoy commanded this year against the Duke de Berwick, and the Imperialists again forced their way across the Alps in July, but they suddenly halted in their career, and after a short campaign, in which scarcely a shot was fired, they repassed the mountains in September.

#### 8. WAR BETWEEN THE CZAR AND THE PORTE.

After the battle of Pultowa the Sultan interested himself for Charles, who was still at Bender, and the Cossacks of the Czar's army obtruded themselves even to his retreat, but the King was protected by the Tartars of the Ukraine. The Muscovite ambassador at Constantinople was seized and confined, but the war that broke out in consequence was not of long duration. Peter sent Marshal Sheremetoff with ten regiments into Moldavia, whilst he himself returned to Moscow, where he proclaimed Catherine his Empress. She accompanied her husband to the army, and on the 4th of July

arrived at Jassy, where Sheremetoff was threatened to be overwhelmed by the Turkish armies. Peter had with him about 37,000 men, very badly off for supplies. The Grand Vizier advanced with 250,000 against him, and the Czar's condition was as bad as that of Charles at Pultowa. On the night of the 20th he commenced a retreat, but the Turks at daybreak fell upon his rearguard commanded by Preobazinski, who defended himself well, making the tents and baggage into intrenchments. Before the day closed, however, the whole Turkish army was upon them, and for three hours the Russians defended themselves without losing ground. They were now close to the river Pruth, but were dying for want of water, and they could not reach the banks. The loss of the Russians in this combat of the Pruth has been calculated at 16,000 men—it was certainly a very bloody affair. At this moment the genius of Catherine saved Peter. The Empress counselled negotiation, and whilst Sheremetoff wrote in the name of the Czar to ask for a suspension of arms, she accompanied the letter by every thing of value she possessed, that could appease or bribe Mohammed Baltadji, the Grand Vizier, although the Vizier, it is thought, was of a character that belied the suspicion of being influenced by a bribe. Certain, however, it is that this assistance saved Peter at a time when he was cut off from all supplies, and altogether in the power of his adversary. Charles XII., who had offended the Turk, came to him when the treaty was concluded to enforce some terms on his own behalf. Baltadji told him he had not taken the Czar prisoner, because there would have been no one left to govern his empire, adding, "It will not do for all Kings to be absent from their homes."

#### 9. BRITISH EXPEDITION TO NORTH AMERICA.

The English ministry had conceived great expectations from an expedition against Quebec this year. A body of 5000 men were sent over under Brigadier Hill (brother to the Queen's new favourite, Mrs. Masham), and they sailed from Plymouth in the beginning of May, under the convoy of Sir Hovenden Walker. The force destined for the expedition consisted of twelve ships of the line, from fifty to eighty guns each, besides smaller vessels, and they sailed from St. Helen's on the 29th of April. They landed at Boston on the 24th of June, where having been joined by about two regiments of provincials and 4000 American planters and Indians, they marched by land by way of Albany, whilst the fleet sailed up the St. Lawrence. On the 23rd of August the fleet was exposed to a violent storm under one of those fogs so common in that climate, by which 800 or 900 men perished; and the admiral immediately sailed back. It was now determined in a council of war, that as the fleet and army were only victualled for ten weeks, and could not depend for a supply of provisions from New England, they should return home. Its miserable remains arrived at St. Helen's on the 9th of October. The ill success of this expedition was a great mortification to the new ministry, who had greatly mismanaged it. Sir Hovenden Walker was, however, most abominably treated. No blame had been cast

upon him, and he had been appointed in the spring ensuing to a high command in the West Indies; but on the accession of George I. he was arraigned for his conduct in this expedition, and untried and uncondemned he endured all the disgrace and punishment attached to misconduct; leaving this constant lesson to future commanders, that neither gallantry nor irreproachable conduct can effectually shield a devoted victim from the rage of political oppression. This is the constant consequence of public employment.

#### 10. NAVAL WAR.

The French fitted out no fleet this year, but desirous of avenging the cruel fate of their countrymen who had been murdered at Rio de Janeiro the previous year, a squadron of fourteen or fifteen men-of-war was secretly sent under M. Duguay-Trouin in the summer, having an ulterior object that did not transpire. On the 11th of September they arrived opposite the entrance of Rio de Janeiro, and knowing that all success depended upon a surprise, they dashed on past the forts that guarded the entrance, and cast anchor immediately opposite the town at Ilha das Cabras, or Goats' Island. On the 14th they disembarked a force of 2200 soldiers with 700 or 800 sailors, and took possession of a height overlooking the town, which they immediately summoned. On the 19th they opened their batteries against it, and on the 21st the Portuguese abandoned the town and retired into the country. The French remained till the 13th of November; when, having put the colony to a contribution of some millions in cruzados, sugar, and other rich plunder, and having destroyed three or four ships of war and thirty-five merchantmen, Duguay-Trouin returned in safety to Brest on the 12th of February, and was highly honoured by the King for this service.

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### 1712.

1. PRINCE EUGENE ARRIVES IN ENGLAND.—2. NEGOTIATIONS.—3. WAR IN THE NETHERLANDS.—4. THE BRITISH ARMY QUIT THE ALLIED CAMP.—5. EUGENE SURPRISED AT DENAIN.—6. THE ALLIES SURPRISE FORT KNOQUE.—7. WAR IN THE PENINSULA. THE BRITISH TROOPS QUIT SPAIN.—8. THE WAR ENDS IN FLEDMONT.—9. THE WAR IN THE NORTH. ECCENTRIC CONDUCT OF CHARLES XII. AT BENDER.—10. DEATH AND MILITARY CHARACTERS OF MARSHAL DE CATINAT AND MARSHAL DE VENDÔME.

#### 1. PRINCE EUGENE ARRIVES IN ENGLAND,

For some time a negotiation for peace had been going on privately; and terms had been under discussion not at all to the satisfaction either of the States General or the Emperor. At this period Prince Eugene arrived in England with instructions to propose a new scheme for prosecuting the war. Although his errand was far from being

agreeable to the ministry of the day, he was treated with extraordinary respect both by the Queen and others. The Lord Treasurer Harley entertained the Prince at dinner, and declared that he looked upon the occasion as the happiest day of his life, since he had the honour to see in his house the greatest captain of the age. The Prince replied, "If I am so, it is owing entirely to your lordship,"—alluding to the part he had taken in Marlborough's disgrace.

## 2. NEGOTIATIONS.

On the 29th of January the congress was opened at Utrecht with a blessing from Robinson, Bishop of Bristol, who was English plenipotentiary with the Earl of Strafford. Buys and Vanderdussen represented the States General. Marshal de Uxelles, Cardinal Polignac, and Menager were there on the part of France. The Emperor and the other allies sent their plenipotentiaries. These negotiations did not, however, retard the preparations for the campaign. The French had never been more active in their warlike preparations than they were now while the congress was sitting at Utrecht. It seems that the Queen of England and the King of France were both, in their private views, opposed to any further bloodshed; and, accordingly, it was agreed between them that their armies should not be brought to a general engagement, and the Duke of Ormond, who was now invested with the supreme command of the British forces in the place of the Duke of Marlborough, received strict injunctions not to act on the offensive. This order was shown to the confederates, and so much displeased them, that they refused to entrust the command of their contingents to Ormond, and appointed Prince Eugene to command them. The English army was discontented and discouraged by all these arrangements. They resented the removal of a general who had so often led them to conquest and victory, and never to defeat. Ormond was not much known as a soldier, and Eugene despised him as much as he had revered Marlborough in the field. Ormond seemed himself extremely uneasy at his situation; and desired permission to return home.

## 3. WAR IN THE NETHERLANDS.

In the mean time the allies, deprived of the assistance of the English, still continued in their animosity against the French. In the beginning of March King William's old friend, the Dutch Earl of Albemarle, opened the campaign against Arras, having thirty-six battalions under him, and reduced it to ashes by a terrible bombardment. Marshal Villars was drawn up behind the formidable lines, which he had strengthened since Marlborough broke through them in the preceding campaign. Here he disciplined his numerous troops, and gathered reinforcements and materials for war from nearly every part of France. In May the Duke of Ormond announced to the States General that he had orders to act vigorously in the prosecution of the war, and joined Prince Eugene at Tournay, before a grand review of the allied army, that was now assembled, near Douay. It was found to consist of upwards of 120,000 men.

Eugene proposed that with this imposing force they should immediately attack Villars in his lines, or invest Quesnoy if the lines should prove too strong. Ormond consented, for it appeared he had been duped, and really believed he was to fight. On the 26th of May the allied army passed the Scheldt and encamped at Haspre and Solenne; but while Ormond was preparing to march with Eugene, he received secret and positive orders that he was neither to engage in a siege nor hazard a battle. Eugene and the deputies presented a strong memorial to Ormond on the 5th of June, insisting upon being informed why he was ruining the hopes of the campaign by his refusal to move, and many of the allies scrupled not to say they were betrayed. The English ministry now sent to Ormond to say, that he might assist at sieges, and might therefore co-operate with Eugene, who invested Quesnoy on the 8th of June. The Duke forthwith assumed an attitude as if he could cover the siege with the whole English army, while the Prince prosecuted it with the Dutch and imperial troops. Ormond sent seven battalions and nine squadrons of the foreign troops maintained by Great Britain into the trenches. But now Marshal Villars, who had been in friendly communication with Ormond upon the understanding that they were not to fight, expressed himself in very uncourtly terms of this perfidy, or of the perfidy of the British Government. Prince Eugene, on the other hand, who wanted some active assistance, complained and remonstrated on his side; so that Ormond knew not what to say in defence or excuse. But he was shortly relieved from part of his difficulties by instructions to demand from Villars the town and port of Dunkirk, as a previous condition of a cessation of hostilities on the part of the English, and as a pledge that France would fulfil her promises: and Villars received instructions to put Dunkirk in the possession of the English troops. The Duke of Ormond thereupon personally communicated to Prince Eugene and the Dutch field-deputies, that he could no longer assist with his forces in the siege of Quesnoy, or do any hostile act against the armies of the King of France. The deputies desired he would delay his march to Dunkirk for five days: and he granted three days without hesitation. Eugene was indignant, and observed, that his marching off with the British troops would leave the allies at the mercy of the enemy; but his choler rose when he found that Ormond not only contemplated marching off the British troops, but likewise the foreign mercenaries, who were indeed in the pay of England, but had entered the service out of hatred to the French, to which they were induced by past injuries. Ormond treated clandestinely with the commanders of these troops, who were mostly Germans, and who alleged that they could not separate from the confederacy without express directions from their masters, to whom they had despatched couriers; but Eugene and the deputies had already tampered with these men, and they one and all refused to march with the English troops, or to abandon Prince Eugene, who by himself was too weak to cope with Villars. Nearly all the little Princes of Germany, who had furnished these auxiliaries, approved of the conduct of their soldiers, calling God and man to witness that they had not hired out these troops for

the sake of the pay only, but also out of regard to the common safety of the Empire: and they undertook to maintain them under the command of Eugene for one month at their own expense; and that afterwards they would share the expense with the Emperor and the States General. But Ormond was pledged by the terms of the truce to make the auxiliaries in British pay observe the truce, as well as the native troops of Great Britain, and as these Germans would not obey him, Villars objected to the giving up of Dunkirk. Consequently an English detachment, which had been sent there, found the gates of the town shut in their faces. About the middle of June, and in the midst of these transactions, Prince Eugene, in order to dazzle the confederates with some bold enterprise, detached Major-General Grovestein with 1500 cavalry, to penetrate into the heart of France. This officer advanced into Champagne, passed the Noire, the Maese, the Moselle, and the Saar, and extorted contributions as far as the gates of Metz. The consternation produced by this irruption reached the gates of Paris, and the King trembled for Versailles, and called in all the troops in the neighbourhood of the capital to defend his palace. Villars sent a detachment after Grovestein as soon as he learned his destination; but the French troops had always the mortification of being a day's march too late, although at the same time they followed the enemy so close as to find the flames still burning in the villages he had destroyed. He returned with a rich booty and a great number of hostages. By way of retaliation, Major-General Pasteur, a French partisan, made an excursion beyond Bergen-op-Zoom, and plundered Tortole, an island belonging to Zealand. On the 4th of July Quesnoy surrendered; and the garrison were made prisoners of war. Prince Eugene now resolved to undertake the siege of Landrecy with a design to detain Ormond and the British; but such a spirit of animosity had begun to prevail between the English and the allies, that it was absolutely necessary to effect a separation without delay; and on the 16th Prince Eugene broke up from his camp at Haspre, and was followed by all the auxiliaries in the British pay, except a few battalions and one regiment of dragoons.

#### 4. THE BRITISH ARMY QUIT THE ALLIED CAMP.

On the 17th Ormond packed up his baggage and decamped. France had already given up Dunkirk to a body of troops sent from England under Brigadier Hill, who took possession of the place on the 7th of July. As Ormond advanced in that direction he was refused admittance into Douay, Bouchain, Tournay, Oudenarde, and Lille, all of them places taken by British bayonets, but now garrisoned by the Dutch; and Marshal Villars thought fit to give him notice, that in case he should meet with any difficulty in his march, he would be welcome to a retreat into France. The veterans who recollected the Duke of Marlborough and the late glorious times were overwhelmed with shame and vexation, and actually shed tears at these proceedings. This 17th of July was an inauspicious day, that branded the British army with infamy and disgrace: nor in the century and a half, which have rolled away since that inglorious day, have all the



arguments urged in its defence done ought to prove that the transaction was otherwise than base and treacherous to our allies, and opposed to every British sentiment. Ormond lay some time at Ghent, of which, as well as Bruges, he took possession, in the name of the Queen of England ; but he detached troops with artillery and ammunition from time to time to Dunkirk, from which place at the end of October the main body of the British embarked for England.

Nevertheless, Eugene thought he might still cope with Villars, and for a time fortune seemed to smile on the brave Prince. But he was not strong enough to cover properly his far-extended lines, and the want of the steady veterans of Britain was soon grievously experienced.

#### 5. EUGENE SURPRISED AT DENAIN.

Notwithstanding this defection of the Duke of Ormond's army, Prince Eugene determined to lay siege to Landrecy. Partisan troops had spread such consternation to the very gates of Versailles, that this proceeding struck alarm into the heart of Louis XIV., who loudly declared, that if Landrecy were taken, he would himself take the field. Marshal de Villars received orders to raise the siege at any risk. This was now carried on under the direction of the Prince of Anhalt, and Eugene with his covering army was encamped near Marchiennes, where was the great depôt of artillery, ammunition, and provisions. The Earl of Albemarle was at Denain with 8000 men to keep up the communication, and cover the passage from this depôt. Eugene had objected to the selection of Marchiennes for the depôt, recommending Quesnoy in preference, which was at half the distance ; but he could not persuade the Dutch deputies, who consulted what they deemed the greater economy in that position. The Prince, not having the equanimity of Marlborough, could not help saying, with bitterness, "*Parlez devant moi des conquêtes d'Alexandre ! Il n'avait point de députés Hollandais à son armée.*" It was necessary to deceive Eugene, in order to enable Marshal Villars to take the step he meditated, of attacking Albemarle's camp at Denain from the side of Douay. The isolated position of the Earl of Albemarle was said to have been first noticed by a priest and a lawyer, who walked there together from Douay, and communicated their ideas to M. de Montesquieu, who represented them to Villars. Accordingly, the Marshal brought his camp near Cateau Cambrésis, and ordered the Count de Coigny with 1500 men to lay bridges over the Selle, and widen and level the roads leading towards the Sambre. Upon these proceedings Eugene caused a deep intrenchment to be raised before his left, and caused his right to move up, so as to be in a condition to maintain the siege with all his forces. Meanwhile Villars ordered the Marquis de Vieuxpont to lay bridges at Neuville, across the Scheldt, between Bouchain and Denain, and to march with thirty battalions : Count Albergotti was to follow with twenty other battalions, and he himself with the whole army in four columns. Vieuxpont could not lay his bridges till the 24th of July at eight in the morning, when the Count de Broglie with forty squadrons crossed

the river. Villars had used such precautions to conceal his true design and march, that Eugene had no intelligence of it till seven in the morning of the 24th, when he hastened in person to the camp at Denain, after leaving orders to some troops to follow him. He viewed the camp and intrenchments, and gave Lord Albemarle such directions as he thought necessary. At the same time he reinforced the eleven battalions of infantry in that post with the three who had come up with him, and judging that fourteen squadrons of dragoons would be useless in the intrenchments, he caused them to retire with all the baggage away from Lord Albemarle's camp. After he had made these arrangements he went away, about eleven o'clock, to hasten the march of other troops. The Prince on quitting ordered the men to dine, which they were doing, when, at two in the afternoon, M. de Broglie attacked them, and finding the outposts weakly guarded, he forced them almost without resistance—the Palatines and German auxiliaries, who were posted there, throwing their arms away upon the first discharge. Upon the first appearance of the enemy, Albemarle advanced to sustain the German battalions, but finding they had quitted their post, also that a great body of French infantry was before him, he retired within his lines, to the defence of which he brought up twelve pieces of cannon. Villars made the disposition for an attack with thirty-six battalions in three columns, distant 200 paces from each other, and a reserve of six battalions in a second line, with cavalry to support them. Villars put himself on the right wing, and placed Albergotti on the left. The troops advanced to the intrenchments without firing a shot, nor did the cannon or musketry of the allies disorder one battalion of the French advance. They came within eighty paces of the lines, when they fired and leaped into the ditch, and, after a long resistance, entered the camp, cutting down all who made head against them. Eugene had been induced to call in his troops from the redoubt and bridge of Prouy to strengthen the garrison; these works were immediately seized by Albergotti, which cut off the retreat of the runaways. Eugene's army was now seen advancing in columns on the other side of the Scheldt, but was stopped at the bridge of Prouy by Albergotti with his troops, and accordingly from the opposite side of the river he had the mortification to witness the surrender of Albemarle. Another bridge was hastily constructed to cross the river, but it broke down with the weight of the troops passing over it, and Eugene was obliged to content himself with remaining where he was. The loss of the French was stated not to have exceeded 400. Of the allies it was reckoned that they had about 1000 killed, besides 1500 drowned in the river; among whom were Count Nassau-Wonderbourg and Count Dohna. Among the prisoners were the Earl of Albemarle, the Prince of Anhalt, the Prince of Nassau-Secken, the Prince of Holstein, Count de la Lippe, and 2500 men.

The French Marshal immediately pushed into Marchiennes, on the Scarpe, where the principal stores of the allies were lodged; and although the place was garrisoned with 4000 men, it surrendered on the last day of the month. Eugene immediately raised the siege of

Landrecy, but could not prevent Villars from investing Douay. He would have hazarded an engagement in its defence, but the States' deputies would not run the risk, and the Prince had the mortification to see Douay surrender after a short siege. Quesnoy, which Eugene had so recently taken, made a somewhat better resistance, but it also fell before Villars. And last, not least, Bouchain, the last prize of Marlborough, was besieged and taken, after a few days' open trenches, on the 10th of October. The "Grand Monarque" ordered *Te Deums* to be sung in the cathedral of Notre Dame for these successes, and challenged them as visible marks of the protection of God; who, he said, knew the rectitude of his intentions, and his sincere desire for peace. Nevertheless, the demands of the French at the conference increased with these successes,—the inevitable consequence of the unwise and ungenerous measures adopted by the British Government, in withdrawing from the confederacy and breaking up its influence.

#### 6. THE ALLIES SURPRISE FORT KNOQUE.

While the French were before Bouchain, the allies, on the 4th of October, surprised Fort Knoque, near Ostend, in the following manner:—The garrison was very weak, and Brigadier Caris, governor of Ostend, hearing of it, employed Captain La Rue, a famous partisan, to take a detachment of 180 men, who found means to hide themselves in some houses near the drawbridges, where they lay all night. In the morning they rushed forward and killed the guard at one bridge, and sent off parties, who successfully obtained others. The French governor was seized in his bed and made prisoner, with the four companies in garrison. La Rue immediately sent to Governor Caris for additional men, and sent out men to bring provisions from the villages in the neighbourhood, before the garrison of Ypres could be informed of the loss of the place. These precautions were not useless, for as soon as they heard of it they sent forward a body of troops on each side towards the Lys; but they found the fort so seasonably guarded, that they were forced to abandon the design.

#### 7. WAR IN THE PENINSULA. THE BRITISH TROOPS QUIT SPAIN.

The Marquis de Bay, who commanded King Philip's forces in Estremadura marched with his army to invade Portugal—but the Portuguese exerted themselves with such vigour and resolution that De Bay was obliged to raise the siege of Campo-Maior, which he had undertaken.

The English troops in Spain were ordered to separate from the army of Count Stahremberg and march to the neighbourhood of Barcelona, where they were embarked on board an English squadron, commanded by Sir John Jennings, and transported to Minorca. Stahremberg continued to blockade Gerona, but Marshal Berwick arrived to its succour on the last day of the year.

## 8. THE WAR ENDS IN PIEDMONT.

On the side of Savoy, the Duke remained inactive, and even allowed the French troops under Berwick to cross the Alps in July and supply themselves from his country ; but at length he acceded to the propositions made to him to take part in the conferences at Utrecht, and acquiesced in the offers of France.

## 9. THE WAR IN THE NORTH. ECCENTRIC CONDUCT OF CHARLES XII. AT BENDER.

The continued absence of Charles XII., at Bender, induced the King of Denmark to attack Sweden. The Danes took Staden, reduced Bremen, and laid Hamburg under contribution. Count Steenbock, however, the Swedish general, defeated the Danish army in Mecklenburg, near Gadesbuek, where the Danish troops and some Saxon cavalry suffered a total rout. The Swedish general ravaged Holstein with great barbarity, and reduced the town of Altona to ashes. Steenbock endeavoured to maintain himself in Tonningen, but at last was forced to surrender ; on the other hand, the Czar entered and reduced Finland, where he became master of Abo, the capital ; and Augustus, King of Poland, penetrated into Pomerania, so that Sweden was struck with a general consternation. Charles himself was all this time playing a farce with the Turks, that was enough to make any one doubt his sanity. The Sultan negotiated for him a free passage to his dominions, through Vienna, while the Emperor promised him a safe conduct. Taking some offence at the message, he rejected the proposal, fortified his house, and prepared to defend himself to the last. The King suffered himself to be besieged by 26,000 Turks and Tartars, with only 300 Swedes to defend him. The slight intrenchments raised by this obstinate Monarch were carried in an instant, and his 300 men surrounded, when Charles, who was on horseback with three officers, Hord, Dardoff, and Spasee, cried, " Let us go and defend the house, we will fight there *pro aris et foci*." He, and his defenders with him, fought with most frantic valour, and slew some hundreds of his assailants, but at last the Turks set fire to his house. One Walberg proposed to the King a surrender. " What a strange fellow," said Charles, " to think it not better to be burned than to be made prisoner." Another, a private soldier named Rosen, proposed what pleased his Majesty better—that they should cut their way to another house, a few paces off. " Spoken like a true Swede," said the King, and he made the man a colonel on the spot. He then attempted to cut his way through to the other house, with the intention of still carrying on his defence, when a score of janizaries rushed upon him, and carried him off in their arms. The scene must have been laughable enough, when, some taking hold of his arms, and others of his legs, he was borne, struggling, to the Pacha's quarters. The janizaries, admiring such bravery, could not help shouting " Allah ! " and treated him with profound respect. He was now deprived of all his followers, who were sold as slaves, and he himself

remained prisoner. This event took place on the 12th of February, 1713, and it was near the end of 1714 before he regained his liberty.

#### 10. DEATH AND MILITARY CHARACTERS OF THE FRENCH MARSHALS— 1. MARSHAL DE CATINAT.

Marshal Catinat was born in 1637, and died in 1712, at the age of seventy-four. He was brought up to the bar, but forsaking it, commenced a military career in 1667. In 1688 he attained the rank of lieutenant-general, in 1690 he defeated the Duke of Savoy at Staffarde, and at Marseille, in 1693, and made himself master of great part of his dominions. In 1693 he was made Marshal of France, and in 1697 he besieged and took the fortress of Ath. In 1700, on the breaking out of the war, the court was undecided whom to oppose in Italy to Prince Eugene, and vacillated between Catinat, Vendôme, and Villeroy. The circumstance came to be talked of at the Emperor's court, at Vienna. "If Villeroy has the command," said Prince Eugene, "I shall beat him; if Vendôme be appointed, we shall have a sharp struggle; but if it be Catinat, I shall be beaten." The latter was sent out, with the strictest orders, to dispute the Prince's entry into Italy; but when, in spite of him, the Imperialists established themselves between the Adige and the Adda, the Marshal was superseded by Villeroy. He bore this injustice like a man superior to fortune; and in a letter he wrote at this time, said, "I strive to forget my misfortunes, that my mind may be more at ease in executing the orders of Marshal Villeroy;" but when this presumptuous and incompetent Marshal was urged, by those who did not like him, to attack Prince Eugene, the honest Catinat, instead of rejoicing to see his rival defeated by his imprudence, urged him not to fight, but to retire; he could, however, no longer bear the reproach of being superseded by an officer, both his junior and a very inefficient commander, and Catinat obtained leave to retire to France. The King named him to his order, but he declined the honour; and when some of his family expressed some displeasure at this proceeding, he replied, "Well then, strike me out of your genealogy." He is spoken of by his contemporaries as a man of singular wisdom, virtue, and modesty; and was called by his soldiers, "*Le père de la Pensée*." He was a man of great simplicity and frugality, and after the mortification imposed on him by the last service he was ever called on to perform, is said to have revived "*le souvenir de ces grands hommes, qui, après les triomphes les mieux mérités, retournaient tranquillement à leurs charrues, toujours amoureux de leur patrie et peu sensibles à l'ingratitude du Roi, qu'ils avaient si bien servi.*"

#### 2. MARSHAL DUKE OF VENDÔME.

The Marshal de Vendôme was born in 1654, and served at the age of eighteen, in Holland, under the eyes of Louis XIV. After distinguishing himself in many battles and sieges, he was made Marshal, and obtained a command in Catalonia in 1697, when he took Barcelona, and afterwards won the decisive battle of Villaviciosa, which esta-

blished King Philip on the throne of Spain. He was a magnificent figure of a man, but of an indolence and sensualism beyond all record. After the battle of Oudenarde, he is said to have retired to a house in Ghent, and without informing himself of any thing concerning his defeated army, threw himself on a bed, and slept for thirty hours, to recover himself from his fatigues ! He died, at Vinaroz, of indigestion, after eating some fish, at the age of fifty-six, on the 11th of June, 1712. His death-bed is recorded to have been a sad scene. Every one of his attendants being about to desert him, "*Il leur cria pitoyablement de ne le pas laisser au moins mourir à nud sur la paillasse.*"<sup>1</sup>

To compensate his death, he received the funeral of a Prince. He had, as has been shown, commanded in Spain, and almost his last victory was that which established the crown on the head of Philip V. The Princess des Ursins accordingly "*pour faire la cour au Roi Louis XIV.*" ordered the body to be brought to the Escorial, to be buried in the mausoleum of the Kings of Spain, although no other private person had been ever buried there.

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## 1713.

### 1. THE PEACE OF UTRECHT AND OF ALT-RANSTADT.—2. WAR BETWEEN THE TURKS AND VENETIANS.—3. WAR IN SPAIN.

#### 1. THE PEACE OF UTRECHT AND OF ALT-RANSTADT.

The pacification was at length brought to a close, and on the 14th day of April peace was signed between France, Great Britain, Savoy, Spain, Prussia, Portugal, and the States General. The 1st day of June was fixed as the period of time for the Emperor to join the treaty. The Emperor, however, rejected the overtures made to him by this proposal of France, and resolved to maintain the war at his own expense, with the assistance of the Empire. His forces on the Rhine, commanded by Prince Eugene, were so much outnumbered by the French, under Villars, that they could not prevent the enemy from relieving the two important fortresses of Landau and Fribourg. Still the Emperor depended on the conduct and fortune of Prince Eugene for some lucky event in the war. But finding himself now disappointed in all these expectations, and absolutely unable to support alone the expense of another campaign, he hearkened to overtures of peace, made by the Elector of Cologne and the Palatine, and on the 26th of November conferences were opened, at the castle of Alt-Ranstädt, between Prince Eugene and Marshal Villars, which ended in a treaty ; and orders were sent to the governors and commanders on both sides to desist from all further hostilities.

<sup>1</sup> "He cried out to them in pity not to leave him to die naked on the straw."

## 2. WAR BETWEEN THE TURKS AND VENETIANS.

Just as all Europe had laid down its arms, Constantinople was observed to be preparing for some war. Extraordinary activity was visible in her arsenals and ship-yards, and presently the Venetian ambassador was seized, and a fleet of forty vessels quitted the Dardanelles. Venice had hugged itself in an inglorious neutrality during the whole War of the Succession, submitting tamely to such insults as no independent nation would suffer, and which being noted by the ministers of the Porte, they thought the moment favourable for a rupture with her. The Venetians were ill prepared for any resistance, having but two Swiss regiments and a few galleys to guard Venice, and some very ill-disciplined troops to defend their possessions on *terra firma*. She now appealed to the great powers for help, but they had no sympathy for her, who had had no sympathy for them; and they would only so far aid her as to obtain the release of her ambassador.

## 3. WAR IN SPAIN.

Berwick pushed across the Ter, on the 2nd of January, in the face of Count Stahremberg, who retired, leaving some guns and ammunition behind him; and the Duke having provisioned Gerona, quitted Spain on the 3rd of February.

Notwithstanding the settlement of the Spanish succession by the peace of Utrecht and Alt-Ranstädt, the Catalans refused to acknowledge Philip as King of Spain, and resented the departure of the British and German troops. Every attempt was made, as well by the Emperor Charles as by Stanhope and Stahremberg, to induce them to submit to the Bourbon King; but in vain. The Catalans, though thus left to themselves defenceless, but not dismayed, made long preparations for an obstinate defence. They collected together 6000 men in Barcelona, and with this force prepared to resist the Duke de Popoli, who encompassed it with his army, and commenced its blockade.

# 1714.

1. DEATH OF QUEEN ANNE.—2. CHARLES XII. RETURNS TO EUROPE. THE DEFEAT OF THE SWEDISH FLEET BY APRAXIN.—3. SIEGE, BOMBARDMENT, AND CAPTURE OF BARCELONA.—4. WAR BETWEEN THE TURKS AND VENETIANS.

## 1. DEATH OF QUEEN ANNE.

Anne, Queen of Great Britain, died on the 1st of August; the last of the regal race of Stuart. Whatever can be said in justification of the Monarch, from the extreme violence and deceitfulness of party intrigue in her time, or of the woman from the imperious temper and impertinence of her once favourite, the Duchess of Marlborough, yet no military man can forgive this Queen for the disgrace of her

great general, who was steadily furthering the interests of his country when she permitted him to be deprived of his command and loaded with unmerited obloquy. Neither can "blushing glory" ever pardon the unworthy withdrawal of her army from the field of its great renown—an army whose undying fame was such, that after 150 years it has not set either in the estimation of the British or of rival nations. Napoleon, indeed, so highly appreciated the campaigns of Marlborough, that, in defiance of national prejudice, and in the zenith of his own military greatness, he commanded a history of them to be written in French, for the benefit of his own soldiers.

## 2. CHARLES XII. RETURNS TO EUROPE. THE DEFEAT OF THE SWEDISH FLEET BY APRAXIN.

In the month of November Charles XII. suddenly returned to his dominions, and arrived at Stralsund on the 22nd, at one o'clock in the morning.

A few months before the return of Charles, the Russian fleet, under the command of Admiral Apraxin (having under him the Czar himself, serving as vice-admiral), numbering thirty ships of the line, met and defeated the Swedish fleet under Admiral Erenschild, not one-third of their number, near the Islands of Aland. The battle lasted three hours, and was very obstinate. Erenschild's ship struck to the Czar himself; and Peter returned to St. Petersburg with four ships of the line, three frigates, and six galleys, which he had taken in the fight.

## 3. SIEGE, BOMBARDMENT, AND CAPTURE OF BARCELONA.

Marshal Berwick was again sent across the Pyrenees, with 20,000 men, to assist King Philip in obtaining possession of Barcelona, which, notwithstanding the peace, still held out against him. A British squadron was also sent to cut off all supplies to the besieged from the seaward. The Catalan garrison had been actively employed during the winter, in training levies and repairing fortifications, and had elected Don Antonio Villaroel their governor. On the other side, the Duke de Popoli commanded for the King, and was ambitious of the honour and glory of reducing the town before the French troops could arrive. He accordingly opened a destructive fire on the town, on the 7th of May, and continued it until the 16th of June, when it was computed that 10,000 bombs had been thrown into the city, and that more than one-third of it was in ruins. Nothing, however, could daunt the defenders. They sallied, they drove the assailants from their works, and would have completely routed them, but for the arrival of the French army on the 7th of July, when De Popoli gave up the command to the Duke de Berwick. Trenches were now commenced against the city, in regular form, on the 12th, and by the 25th batteries were opened from eighty-seven pieces of artillery and thirty-three mortars; and on the 30th a lodgment was effected on the covered way, by the explosion of some mines. The besieged still attempted to make sallies from different quarters. Some hope was given them from the expected aid of 12,000 miquelets, who



had been collected for their relief, in the adjoining mountains, under the Marquis del Poal; but he was met, and completely routed, by a French detachment, and he and his men were dispersed in all directions. On the 12th of August breaches were declared in the two bastions of Santa Clara and Puerta Nueva, and these being deemed practicable, a bloody assault was made upon them the next day; but after three hours' hard fighting, the French were repulsed. Berwick now effected no less than seven breaches, and with a view of sparing the effusion of blood, offered a capitulation; but the Catalans refused to treat, except on the basis of having their ancient *fueros* secured to them. This obstinacy astonished Berwick, since the place was now wholly at his mercy, with no possibility of succour, and it was known that their provisions were totally exhausted. An attempt was made to send all the women out of the city, who were dying of hunger, but the Marshal refused to let them approach his lines, and ordered them to be fired upon when they persevered. At length, on the 11th of September, at daybreak, the final assault was made. It was commenced by fifty companies of grenadiers, supported by almost as many more. They were received with grape shot, that swept away whole ranks at once. Every street was in trenched and defended, and from window and loophole an incessant fire was poured upon the assailants. By dint of numbers, and equal bravery, all obstacles were gradually overcome. Every barricade was forced, and the columns pushed forward on every side. At length the besieged were driven into the Plaza Mayor. Here their commander, Villaroel, as well as other leaders, fell desperately wounded. But the French troops began to disperse for pillage; and as soon as this was observed by the Catalans, they seized the favourable opportunity, and drove the enemy, in disorder, back to the breaches. Additional guns were now opened upon the city, and after twelve hours of incessant fighting the Catalans gave way. A dreadful night ensued: a cry was raised of "Kill and burn," which gave fierceness to the conflict, and when day broke the resistance still continued. Berwick having exhausted every expedient to induce them to a surrender, resolved to destroy the city and the men together: and, accordingly, fire was applied to several quarters, when the Catalans hoisted a white flag, and the contest terminated with a verbal capitulation. Thus ended a siege, more long and more bloody than any of which this century could furnish an example; and it was the last scene of the sad intestine struggle for the monarchy of Spain. King Philip was not thought to have, in the sequel, acted generously to this brave but misguided people; and it is more honourable to the character of his rival, that to the last he manifested the warmest sympathy "for the misfortunes of my poor Catalans, whose attachment to me, and whose fidelity and firmness, were beyond all example." The Island of Majorca still held out, but surrendered in June, 1715, to D'Ashfeldt, with a French force, for the King of Spain.

#### 4. WAR BETWEEN THE TURKS AND VENETIANS.

An army of 100,000 Turks, and 100 ships, under the command of

the Grand Vizier himself, suddenly threatened the shores of the Morea; and the Venetian Proveditore, Delfine, had scarcely a man to defend himself. A descent was made near the Isthmus, and Corinth immediately invested and besieged: it was taken on the 20th of June, and the Isthmus forced. On the 27th Egeria and Argos capitulated; and on the 4th of July Napoli di Romania was escalated, the Turks being too impatient to pursue the slow method of a siege. The Proveditores of these towns were loaded with chains and sent to Constantinople. In the mean time the Venetians had exerted themselves, and a few galleys and ships were got together, which, however, could only witness these successes of the Turks without preventing them.

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## 1715.

1. WAR IN SWEDEN.—2. THE SIEGE OF STRALSUND.—3. CAPTURE OF STRALSUND. CHARLES XII. ESCAPES.—4. A BRITISH FLEET SENT TO THE BALTIC.—5. THE CZAR PETER INVADES THE DANISH TERRITORIES.—6. WAR BETWEEN THE SWEDS AND PRUSSIANS.—7. WAR BETWEEN THE TURKS AND VENETIANS.—8. INSURRECTION IN SCOTLAND.—9. DEATH AND MILITARY CHARACTER OF LOUIS XIV., KING OF FRANCE.

### 1. WAR IN SWEDEN.

Charles XII., King of Sweden, had rejected the treaty of neutrality concerted by the allies, for the security of the empire, and still considered the Russians, Prussians, Danes, English, and Dutch, as his enemies. The ministers of England and the States General had presented memorials to the Regency of Sweden, but finding no redress, they resolved to protect their trade by force of arms, and sent a strong squadron to the Baltic, in order to protect the commerce of the nation; but the object was also to overawe the Swedes, and compel Charles to submit to the demands of the coalition. During his absence in Turkey, the Danes, Norwegians, Russians, Saxons, and all the nations who had previously crouched at his feet, had risen up to help themselves to his territory. King George, for the security of his German dominions, entered into a treaty with Denmark, by which the duchies of Bremen and Verden, which had been taken from the Swedes during their King's absence, were made over to his Britannic Majesty, on condition that he should immediately declare war against Sweden. Accordingly, he took possession of the duchies; and nearly at the same time that the British fleet appeared in the Baltic, 6000 Hanoverians marched into Pomerania, and there joined the Danes and Prussians, who opened the trenches against Stralsund on the night of the 19th—20th of October.

### 2. THE SIEGE OF STRALSUND.

The Kings of Denmark and Prussia undertook this siege, with a

force of 36,000 men, composed of Prussians, Danes, Hanoverians, and Saxons, and they pressed the siege with vigour. King Charles XII. was with the garrison, confident in the notion that no fortified place could ever be taken from him. He had no idea in the course of his conquests, but that the terror of his name could take the place of all rules of war. A singular adventure occurred in the course of this siege. It is well known that the Baltic Sea has little or no tide. An outwork of the place, protected on one side by an impassable marsh, and on the other by a creek of the sea, appeared to be unassailable. No one had remarked, that when the west wind prevailed for any time, the water in the creek was thrown back to the eastward, so as not to leave above three feet depth of water. Thus it happened that one of the garrison fell from the ramparts into the creek, and was astonished to find himself in his depth. He thought he might turn this discovery to his own advantage, and deserted to the enemy, who availed themselves instantly of the information. On the following night, when the westerly wind still prevailed, they threw a force of 18,000 men across the water, whilst another force of 2000 men were at the same time thrown forward to draw off the attention of the enemy; during which, the outworks on the side of the sea were, to their surprise, attacked and carried with great slaughter. Indeed, the place was very nearly captured; for as the Swedes fled to the town, the attacking party followed them, and were only prevented entering it by the hasty raising of a drawbridge.

Charles was well aware of the importance of the Isle of Rugen to the proper defence of Stralsund; but the amount of garrison did not permit him to occupy it with more than 2000 men. On the 15th of November the Prince of Anhalt, with 1200 men, made a descent upon this island and encamped upon it. The King happened to be present in it at the time, attending to its defences; but this was unknown to the Prince. Charles observed that the enemy intrenched themselves, and determined at once to attack them, ignorant of the depth of the ditch they had constructed. Nevertheless, the Swedes effected the passage of this with considerable bravery, and entered the Prince's camp; but they were driven back into the open country, where the fight continued hand to hand. The Swedish generals fell on either side of him; and at last the King himself was recognized, and called upon to surrender, when he shot the officer (who thus addressed him) dead at his feet, with his pistol. His name was however heard by the soldiers, and they pressed upon and surrounded him. He received a wound in his left breast, but, thanks to Count Poniatowski, who had already saved his life at Pultowa, he was got safe on the back of a horse, and escaped back into Stralsund. Rugen, however, surrendered its garrison: singularly enough, this contained the identical French detachment that had escaped from the battle of Blenheim, and had afterwards entered the service of King Augustus of Poland. It had been thence transferred to the Swedish army, and now, under the same commander, the Count de Villelongue, they were taken prisoners by the confederates.

### 3. CAPTURE OF STRALSUND. CHARLES XII. ESCAPES.

The siege continued ; and here occurred the circumstance so well known in the life of Charles XII. One day dictating a note to his secretary, a bomb pierced the roof of his chamber, and fell into a room adjoining that in which they were sitting ; although it burst without any injury to either the King or his secretary, it occasioned so much alarm to the latter, that the pen dropped from his hand. "What is the matter?" cried the King, "write on." "O sire, the shell." "Well, what has the shell to do with my letter? write on."

The siege continued, the King contesting every advance like a common soldier. At length, when it was no longer doubtful that Stralsund must fall, the troops begged the King to seek his own safety. The besiegers, eager for the capture of such a prize as Charles XII., had given orders for extreme vigilance, both by land and sea, with instructions to take the King, dead or alive. On the 20th of December, with ten attendants, he determined to make his way forth ; and he embarked in an open boat, the very hazard of the enterprise giving him pleasure. He had first to break the ice to get to sea, and then to pass the Isle of Rugen, in possession (as we have seen) of the enemy. They fired at his boat, killed some of the crew, and carried away the mast ; but at length he reached two of his own vessels, which were in the offing, and, in one of them, escaped to Carlsrona. Stralsund surrendered the following day.

Charles then assembled a body of troops, with which he proposed to pass the Sound upon the ice, and attack Copenhagen ; but he was disappointed in this project by a sudden thaw. He accordingly remained at Carlsrona, in order to hasten his fleet for the relief of Wismar.

### 4. A BRITISH FLEET SENT TO THE BALTIC.

The Swedish privateers had for some time disturbed the British commerce, and it was determined to send a British fleet to the Baltic, to put a stop to their insolent depredations and for further objects. Sir John Norris, with a force of eighteen ships of the line, sailed from the Nore on the 18th of May, and arrived in the Sound on the 10th of June. The King of Sweden caused it to be signified to the admiral, that in case of any act of hostility, he would cause all the effects belonging to the subjects of Great Britain to be seized and confiscated. Sir John Norris, indifferent to the royal menace, despatched a messenger to the court at Stockholm, complaining of the injuries received, and requiring some satisfaction and national security, that the outrages should be discountenanced and discontinued. The court prevaricated, and Sir John, in obedience to his instructions, at once joined the squadron of Russia and Holland ; and as the Czar commanded his fleet in person, it was agreed that, in compliment to his high dignity, his Majesty should have the chief command. These spirited measures overawed the Swedes, who immediately withdrew their squadrons into their harbours.

## 5. THE CZAR PETER INVADES THE DANISH TERRITORIES.

It happened that at this very moment, the King's rival, Peter the Great, stretched forth his rude arm to grasp a part of Denmark, which was a portion of the Germanic Empire ; betraying too clearly and too early, that Russia was aiming at nothing less than the entire dominion of the Baltic. Unexpectedly, an army of Muscovites marched into Mecklenburg, into which he had been invited by the reigning Duke, who was at this time at open variance with his subjects, and who had married the Czar's niece. The King of Denmark took the alarm, and remonstrated. The Czar threatened to quarter his Muscovites in Denmark. The King appealed to George, the new King of England, who, as a German Prince, as well as from personal dislike, was opposed to Peter. George, in the heat of his rage, sent his favourite, Berensdorff, to the British minister, Stanhope, with a project to crush the Czar immediately; to secure his ships; and even to seize his person as a security that his troops should evacuate Germany. The English Cabinet remonstrated that a rupture with the Czar would be followed by very evil consequences to the kingdom, for that the ships and British merchants in Russia would assuredly be seized upon at once, and that a stop would be put to the naval supplies which England drew from that country. King George required that Sir John Norris and his squadron should winter in the Baltic, as neither the Czar, nor his rival, Charles, followed the customary routine of going into winter-quarters, and suspending hostilities on account of the weather; but the cabinet lost all patience at the royal proposal, to leave eighteen British men-of-war to be frozen up in the Baltic. Sir John Norris therefore returned to England in the beginning of December, but he left Commodore Cleveland, with seven ships of war, with orders to act in conjunction with the Danes in the expected rupture, and to give the proper protection to the trade and commerce of the country.

## 6. WAR BETWEEN THE SWEDES AND PRUSSIANS.

At the mouth of the Oder, in the Baltic Sea, stands the little island of Usedom. It is a possession of some importance to the navigation of the river. The King of Prussia had driven the Swedes out of it, and held it, as well as Stettin, "in security for a peace." In the month of May, this year, the Swedes had retaken it; and it was now garrisoned for Charles by 250 Swedish soldiers, under the command of an old officer of the name of Kuze-Slerp. On the 4th of August, the King of Prussia sent 1500 infantry and 800 cavalry to retake the island. They landed without opposition; but there were two forts, one called La Suine, and the other Pennamonder: the Swedish commander abandoned the former, and determined to hold the other to the last extremity. It was necessary, therefore, to besiege it in form. On the 18th of August the trenches were opened, and a heavy fire of guns and mortars was poured into it. The place was closely invested. A messenger from the King contrived, nevertheless, to convey a letter from Charles, which was in these

words, "Reserve gun-fire till the enemy is in the ditch—fight to the last gasp. I recommend you to your good fortune.—CHARLES."

On the 22nd the Prussians made the assault; and faithful to the King's orders, Kuze-Slerp reserved his fire till he saw the besiegers in the ditch, when they gave a murderous volley. The ditch was heaped with the dead; nevertheless it was large and the assailants numerous. The enemy got through it, and into the castle, and then the troops left the breach and retired to a bastion, where they made a stand. The enemy was astonished at their pertinacity; but at last the gallant commander was killed, together with his major, when 100 soldiers, and one solitary remaining officer, were made prisoners. The King's letter was found in the gallant Kuze-Slerp's pocket. When a leader could command such troops, we need not be surprised that their King could have such success; but we may be allowed to regret that such noble daring should be thus utterly thrown away.

#### 7. WAR BETWEEN THE TURKS AND VENETIANS.

The war between Venice and the Sublime Porte continued. The Turkish fleet had been ordered to repair to Koron; the Venetians retired before them. Koron, Modon, the Castle of the Morea, Malvasia, and Cerigo, successively fell to the Turkish arms; and at length, of all the possessions of the Venetians, Suda and Spinalonga alone remained to them. Here Ludovico Magno and Francisco Giustiniani defended themselves with something like the ancient spirit of the lion of St. Mark; but at length, deserted by their fleet, which escaped to Corfu, the whole island of Candia surrendered to the Turks in the month of November, and the Grand Vizier returned home and entered Adrianople in triumph, as a conqueror. Damad-Ali was far above his countrymen in intelligence, and was indeed a man of considerable ability in state affairs, as well as in war, and did much to improve the institutions of the Ottoman Empire.

#### 8. INSURRECTION IN SCOTLAND.

The Earl of Mar having set up the Stuart standard at Braemar, on the 6th of September, an insurrection was organized in the kingdom of Scotland. At the same time, a regular conspiracy was fomented in England, and the Earl of Derwentwater proclaimed James King in Northumberland. On the 22nd of October a considerable force was got together at Kelso, and soon afterwards they crossed the English border, and advanced to Preston, in Lancashire, where, to the number of some 1500, they intrenched themselves. Here they were attacked by General Carpenter, on the 12th of November, and forced to surrender at discretion. The Earl of Mar, who was still in Scotland, encountered on the same day the Duke of Argyle with the Royal troops, at Dumbane. The clans, with Glengary and Clanronald at their head, charged the left of the Royal army, sword in hand, and drove them off the field; but in the meantime Argyle, on the right, attacked the left of the insurgents, and routed them. No decisive event, however, resulted from the engagement. In the evening the Duke drew off from the field, towards

Dumblane, and the rebels retired to Ardoch. Few prisoners were taken on either side ; the number of slain was about 500 either way, and both generals claimed the victory. Soon afterwards, however, Inverness was secured to the King's army, by Simon Fraser, Lord Lovat. On the 22nd of December the Pretender arrived at Peterhead, with six gentlemen in his retinue. He met the Earl of Mar at Aberdeen, and was there again solemnly proclaimed. In the mean time, however, General Cadogan, reinforced by 6000 men, provided by the States General of Holland, repaired to Perth, of which he took possession on the 9th of January ; when the Chevalier de St. George, finding himself hotly pursued, embarked at Montrose, and gave up the contest. General Gordon, whom the Pretender left commander of his forces, successfully retreated, in face of the Duke of Argyle and Cadogan, through Aberdeen, where the common people were disbanded, and the chiefs escaped to the Continent. Such was the issue of the Fifteen—a wretched, undignified rebellion.

#### 9. DEATH AND MILITARY CHARACTER OF LOUIS XIV., KING OF FRANCE.

Louis XIV. expired at Versailles on the 1st of September of this year, after a reign of seventy-two years. A King who had administered the military affairs of a mighty power for half a century, and had several times taken the field in person, may fairly claim to have a military character of his own, independently of his royal one. Louis however was scarcely entitled to be considered to possess any of the qualities of a great commander. With Turenne at his elbow, and with such troops as the French, he could doubtless conquer ; and accustomed as they always have been to be well led by their officers, their leader cannot often fail to be successful ; but I am not sure that the King himself ever showed any great genius in leading them, or had any other quality for war than the ordinary one of personal courage. He, nevertheless, piqued himself on his knowledge of the art of war, and had certainly studied strategy, and could compose plans of a campaign for his Marshals ; which they rarely did, for very commonly they could not, adept. He always preferred sieges to battles. The measured approaches of the sap and parallels suited the stateliness of his carriage, and he thought he understood the science of the attack and defence of fortified places. When he took the field, he did so, like an Eastern Monarch, with a brilliant cortege, and all that could minister to his pleasures, a seraglio inclusive : yet he was by no means effeminate in his constitution, had great powers of enduring fatigue, and could suffer hunger or thirst, heat, cold, or rain, with perfect impunity. He was very fond of all military details, the dress, arms, and movements of troops ; and he delighted in reviews. He was proud of the admiration he commanded on such occasions, for his grand air, good looks, and address on horseback. He was also exceedingly fond of talking over his campaigns in his familiar society, and had the talent of relating them well. These are the qualities which, as a soldier, Louis XIV. is admitted to have possessed by his contemporaries ; what can be said of him as a Sovereign and a man I leave to other biographers. It may be worth

noting, as a *memoria technica*, that the sum of the year of this Sovereign's birth, 1643, is the number of his name.

## 1716.

1. THE TURKISH AND VENETIAN NAVAL FIGHT AT CORFU.—2. WAR BETWEEN THE EMPEROR AND THE PORTE. THE BATTLE OF PETERWARADIN.—3. WAR IN THE NORTH. THE AFFAIR OF THE SWEDISH COUNTS GÖRTZ AND GYLLENBORG.

### 1. THE TURKISH AND VENETIAN NAVAL FIGHT AT CORFU.

The Turks at this time entered with increasing energy into the war with Venice. They caused their fleet to be greatly increased, a flotilla under the Ibrahim Aga was despatched to the mouths of the Danube, and preparations were made for a descent upon Corfu. The Venetians looked about for some foreigner of eminence to command their forces, and at length engaged the Count de Schulenburg, a Saxon general of considerable repute, who had distinguished himself in the wars of Sweden and Poland.

On the 5th of July the Ottoman fleet appeared before the island. It was composed of twenty-two ships of the line and a quantity of vessels filled with troops, and was under the command of the Capudan Pacha, Djanum Cogia. The Venetian captain-general was as usual behindhand in his warlike preparations: the troops they had pressed into their service for the defence of the place were not armed, and there were in harbour but a few galleys. These could not resist the entry of the Turkish fleet into the waters, but, nevertheless, they succeeded in getting away, for the Turks were too much occupied with landing their troops to mind what the Venetians did. Thirty thousand Turkish infantry and 3000 cavalry established their camp near Potamo, within a league from the fort, and the siege was confided to the Seraskier. Suddenly, as unexpected as an apparition, the fire of artillery was heard at sea, for the Venetian galleys which had escaped from the port having united themselves with the *Providitore* Cornaro, who was bringing ships of war and a convoy from Venice, doubled the Cape of Cassopo, and came full in view of the Ottomans. Cogia hastened on board his fleet and stopped the disembarkation—making sail and preparing for action, but this could not be performed without some confusion, and he could scarcely form his ships in line before the Venetian fleet was upon them. Flangini instantly began the action, and Cornaro's division followed him. The cannonade was dreadful, and fell heavily upon the Capudan Pacha, whose ship was disabled, so that, though he had lost no ship of his fleet, he retired with it in the night to Butrinto, whilst the Venetians safely brought their convoy into port.

### 2. WAR BETWEEN THE EMPEROR AND THE PORTE. THE BATTLE OF PETERWARADIN.

The rapid successes of the Turks in the Morea, which brought to recollection the former preponderance of the Ottoman Porte, spread



general alarm in Europe. The Pope, alarmed at the progress of the infidels, urged the Emperor to stand forth in defence of Christendom. As guarantee of the treaty of Carlovitz, by which the territory that was assailed had been assigned to Venice, he was also appealed to by that republic. The Emperor accordingly prepared for immediate hostilities, and assembled a small but well-disciplined army under Prince Eugene. This Prince passed the Danube in sight of the Ottoman army, amounting to 150,000 men, and encamped near Peterwaradin, behind the very intrenchments which he had occupied in his former campaign, and which, by an unaccountable negligence, the Turks had not destroyed. On the 5th of August he led his troops against the Grand Vizier Ali, brother-in-law of the Sultan, routed his numerous but undisciplined forces, who could only oppose a blind and impotent valour against men disciplined under the best leaders, and flushed with the victories of the last war, in which they had been led by the military skill and experience of the friend of Marlborough. The battle began at eight in the morning with a tremendous fire of artillery from the side of the Turks. The Prince of Würtemberg led the left wing against the enemy and passed completely through them—but the right attack was not so prosperous. The Turks had opened trenches quite up to the intrenchments, and accordingly the eight columns which attacked had to pass first through the apertures of their own lines, and then were not able to deploy from the close vicinity of those of the enemy. Lanko and Wallenstein were killed in the attempt. The Count de Bonneval was severely wounded, but, nevertheless, pushed on till Count John Palffy came up with 2000 horse on the flank of the janizaries, and forced them to retire after five hours' fighting, when they were crushed in their retreat by the guns of Peterwaradin. The Grand Vizier was killed, with 30,000 Turks, and the booty taken was immense, together with 250 pieces of heavy artillery. Eugene took possession of the superb tent of the Vizier, and therein returned thanks by his own chaplain for the victory. Many of the officers obtained great wealth. Bonneval acknowledges in his memoirs to having received, as his reward, the tent of the Aga of the janizaries. Prince Eugene despatched a hasty line to the Emperor with an account of his victory. He says of himself, "*Il est aisé d'être modeste quand on est heureux;*" a hint that ought not to be thrown away on other fortunate commanders. On the 25th of August the Prince caused the Temeswar to be invested, against which the trenches were opened on the 1st of September, but the whole month was occupied by the siege, and it was not till the 30th that a species of block-house, on which depended the possession of the place, was taken by assault after severe loss. The place capitulated on the 13th of October. An article was attempted to be inserted in the terms of the capitulation in favour of some Hungarian rebels, who formed part of the garrison. Eugene wrote this memorandum against the article, "*Cette canaille peut se retirer où elle voudra,*" and gave this reason for it, that a trifling tone of disdain gives frequently a useful and advantageous superiority to a negotiating general.

## 3. WAR IN THE NORTH.

The last year left "Swedish Charles" at Carlscrona, just escaped from Stralsund. Here he was without an army, without allies, and apparently without a policy or an object, though at war at once with Denmark, Prussia, Russia, Poland, and England. This war was extremely prejudicial to the latter power, on account of her commerce, and the British Government desired an accommodation; but the King of Sweden would not be reconciled so long as the Elector of Hanover retained Bremen and Verden, which he had unjustly obtained at the cost of Sweden, and which he still refused to restore. Charles was justly and highly indignant, and in his anger formed a scheme for a military descent upon the United Kingdom, where he knew there were many malcontents. This sort of enterprise flattered the ambition as well as the revenge of such a self-willed young warrior, who had no system of settled policy, and was as ready to fight with the English as against the Danes or Russians; indeed at this time the Czar was not altogether unwilling to unite with the Swedish Monarch against King George. There had been at the close of the preceding year some increase of misunderstanding between Peter and his allies. The Czar had sent 25,000 Russian troops to assist the confederates in the reduction of Wismar, a town situated on the shores of the Baltic Sea, not far from Lubeck, and the last place remaining to Sweden in Pomerania, but before the Muscovite troops could arrive, the Danes and Prussians had taken it, and would not admit the Russians into the garrison. He was also discontented with all his German allies, who were discontented with him, and continually opposing him in his attempt to gain a footing in the Empire. The dubious condition of the existing relations between the northern powers gave occasion to an intrigue of a bold and unjustifiable character, in which the Baron Görtz, the Swedish prime minister, was the principal actor. He had more influence over his royal master at this time than had been ever possessed even by Count Piper, and he was a man of prodigious energy and activity. While Charles, therefore, followed his military prepossessions, this minister repaired in person to England, France, and Holland, to put in action the great plans he had formed to shake Europe. The Czar was at this time himself in Holland with his Empress, who had been brought to bed of a son at Wesel, and had thence accompanied her husband to Amsterdam. King George had also passed through the Hague on his return from his electoral dominions, so that Görtz was able to observe the sayings and doings of all the principal men of the day in the drama he was preparing. Some inkling of his proceedings was, however, obtained by others, and as soon as the King returned to England, Stanhope, the secretary of state, proposed to seize Count Gyllenborg, the Swedish minister at London, and all his papers. This was effected on the 29th of January by no less a person than General Wade, who had this duty put upon him, and who made the Count a prisoner in his own house. Görtz very narrowly escaped the same fate, for he had actually reached Calais on his way to Lon-

don, when he heard what had happened, and returned to Holland. The States General were now called on, in virtue of existing treaties, and for their common safety, to seize the Baron; but he heard of their intention and escaped to Arnheim, where however, at length, he and his secretary and all his papers were seized. The Czar, who was not altogether uncompromised in this intrigue, although he had absolutely refused to see Baron Görtz, who had made constant endeavours to approach his Majesty, as on the other hand he had also declined an interview with his royal brother when he passed by the Hague, proceeded quietly on his travels into France and Paris, where he was munificently received and entertained by the Regent Duke of Orleans.

Charles had occupied himself at Carlscrona during the winter with assembling an army of 20,000 men, and heard the intelligence brought him of these transactions with little emotion. He neither owned nor disowned the proceedings of Görtz and Gyllenborg, but contented himself with ordering the arrest of the British minister at Stockholm, Mr. Jackson, and of forbidding the Dutch resident to come near him. Suddenly, to the surprise of Europe, he crossed with his army into Norway to make war against the King of Denmark. Here he found a most difficult country, and but few enemies, as the Czar's projects kept the Muscovite armies for the present inactive.

Peter was not a man to lose his time in idle ceremonies at Paris. He came there to inform himself of various political relations, which it was necessary for his policy to understand: but as some passages in the rifled correspondence of Görtz and Gyllenborg formed ground for the supposition that he was privy to the meditated descent upon the United Kingdom, the British Government reflected on him in some State papers, to which he thought proper to reply, complaining that such malicious insinuations of his enemies had been permitted to be printed. This occasioned a rejoinder from King George, who assured the Czar that he should be fully satisfied if he would remove the only obstacle to a good understanding, by withdrawing his Russian troops from the German Empire. Whilst, therefore, he was in France the Czar concluded a treaty with the Regent, and promised to satisfy the King of England in this particular, if he would on his side release Görtz and Gyllenborg from their imprisonment. This was accordingly done in the month of August, when those statesmen were both liberated after six months' imprisonment, during which the King of Sweden had never condescended the least explanation, nor expressed the slightest dissatisfaction at the conduct of his ministers.

Charles XII., attended by his brother-in-law, the Prince of Hesse, remained with his army in Norway. This province was defended by about 11,000 Danes, and the King wasted the country, and put its defenders continually to the rout and to the sword. He even advanced as far as Christiania, the capital; but the Danes at length brought up a fleet and army to the defence of Norway, and Charles, for want of supplies, was obliged to withdraw his troops within his Swedish frontier.

1717.

1. THE SIEGE OF CORFU BY THE TURKS.—2. SIEGE AND BATTLE OF BELGRADE.—3. SPAIN SEIZES THE ISLAND OF SARDINIA.

### 1. THE SIEGE OF CORFU BY THE TURKS.

War was still raging between the Turks and the Imperialists and Venetians: the rest of Europe and of the world in general was enjoying its repose, although ill blood was fermenting under the intrigues of Alberoni in Spain, which was again preparing for war. Notwithstanding the departure of the Turkish fleet after its conflict with the galleys of Venice, the Turkish troops under Kara Mustapha Pacha undertook the siege of Corfu, and commenced their attack on Mount Abraham, which commands the fortifications of the place. It was most resolutely defended by Count Schulenburg, and the difficulties in the way of getting up the besiegers' artillery so consumed time that it was already the end of July before Mount Abraham and the height of San Salvador were in their possession. From these heights, however, the town was now crushed by their fire. The Venetian fleet tried to draw the Capudan Pacha, who had in the mean time returned, again into action, but he would not hazard the security of the army. The Turks now opened a useless fire on the high tower of St. Spiridion, when Schulenburg determined to try the effect of sorties. On the 7th of August, with 1000 men, assisted by the Venetian fleet, he fell upon the Turkish besiegers at three in the morning, and after a seven hours' combat returned to his quarters, with no great result on either side. Some days later he again beat them up. On the night of the 17th—18th of August, the Seraskier, therefore, wearied out with these attacks, determined on a general assault. At first they carried all before them, but after a contest of six hours Schulenburg put himself at the head of 800 men and fell upon the enemy's flank with such success that it was disordered, and the whole force driven back into their trenches, with a loss of 2000 killed and twenty standards. In the night that succeeded, a heavy gale came on, causing much anxiety for the fleet. The tempest tossed the ships, the rain descended in torrents, the tents of the Turks were blown to rags, and in this war of the elements the Turkish soldiery lost heart, and demanded with incessant cries to be re-embarked. The Seraskier was himself shaken, and hearing that a Spanish fleet was coming to the assistance of the Venetians, he determined to raise the siege. He accordingly embarked his army in the night, and making sail got clear out of the port by morning, and safely into harbour at Butrinto. He had already sacrificed 15,000 men in the siege, which had lasted forty-two days, and he now left behind fifty-six guns and mortars, a great many sick and wounded prisoners, and all their baggage. Pisani with the Venetian galleys pursued the enemy, but the Turkish fleet got safely to the Dardanelles. Schulenburg immediately attacked Butrinto and Santa Maura, which surrendered on the 21st of August without resistance. The republic of

Venice raised a statue to Schulenburg, in gratitude for his services, on the isle he had so well defended. The successful general bore his honours meekly, and employed the influence they conferred upon him nobly. Being himself a Protestant he demanded and obtained from the republic a complete toleration for his co-religionists. It may be here related, that in October of the following year the scene of this glorious defence was visited by a thunderstorm, which setting fire to the powder magazine, destroyed all the fortifications by its explosion ; but Schulenburg restored the works, rearranging them very much as they remain to this day.

## 2. SIEGE AND BATTLE OF BELGRADE.

The conquests which distinguished the campaign of 1716 were followed by still greater successes this year. Prince Eugene stood so high in general estimation, that he said of himself, "he could have assembled squadrons of princes as volunteers." His first resolve was to undertake the siege of Belgrade, the key of the Ottoman dominions, on the side of Hungary. On the 19th of June he passed his army across the Danube and invested the place. Belgrade contained at this time a garrison of 30,000 men, commanded by Schatir Ali Pacha, an officer who had served under the Grand Vizier in the previous year. As the Prince was reconnoitring the very first day, he narrowly escaped capture. Some 1200 spahis made a sudden sortie, and with loud shouts of "Allah ! Allah !" came into the midst of his suite ; the commanding officer only failed to take him prisoner by Eugene's presenting his pistol against him. The sorties of the Turkish garrison were terrible, and made great havoc amongst the illustrious volunteers. The fire of the place also committed great havoc, which was increased by the fire from some gun-boats on the Danube. The bridges across this river by the freshes were also carried away, all which occasioned delay. Notwithstanding, the batteries of the besiegers opened with such good effect, that the capture of the town was imminent ; when, on the 22nd of July, the Grand Vizier arrived for its relief, at the head of an army of 180,000 men. Happily for Prince Eugene he had had the prudence to throw up strong lines of circumvallation to defend his camp. The Turkish army crowned all the surrounding heights with their troops, from Krotoka to Dedina, but they found the besiegers so strongly intrenched, that they were under the necessity, on the 13th of August, of opening trenches to force the lines ; presenting the extraordinary sight of two sieges proceeding at once—the besiegers themselves besieged. The danger to the imperial army was however most alarming—shut up as they were between a mighty army and an immense fortre-s—with the unhealthy marshes of the Save and Danube around them, which at this season decimated the army. The Prince himself was attacked by disease and confined to his bed. Here he heard that some of his servants had been shot down outside his very tent. Unable to exert himself from sickness, he saw his army in danger of being lost if it attempted to move, and beaten if it remained where it was. Boldness, military skill, and discipline, at

length saved him. On the 15th of August he felt himself better, and equal to the perilous step that he meditated. He knew he could confide in his troops, and that the spirit in them was excellent. They were as thoroughly confident in their leader, exclaiming—"Lead us on against the enemy—Eugene commands—we will conquer or die." It was necessary for him to keep 20,000 men in the works to restrain the garrison, and he could only bring 40,000 others to assault the Grand Vizier's intrenchments, which were bristling with guns, and defended by nearly 200,000 soldiers. At one in the morning of the 15th the discharge of three bombs gave the signal for the different columns of attack to march out of the lines. The Turks have never any advanced posts or pickets, and, in addition to the darkness of the night, there was, on this occasion, a thick fog. About two o'clock the several columns burst upon the sleeping camp. In the confusion, however, the Imperialists got bewildered in the enemy's lines; but Eugene had providently desired the troops to carry with them fascines to lay over the ditches, so that when the janizaries prepared to assail them, the Bavarian horse, under Colonna, were brought forward across the trenches, who dashed into the midst of the enemy and took eighteen pieces of cannon. The Prince brought up his second line in support of the Bavarians; but, in the *mêlée*, one of his regiments was entirely cut to pieces, and he himself received a severe sabre-wound—the thirteenth during his glorious career. Other regiments now pushed forward, and the captured Turkish cannon were turned against the banners of the Crescent. It was now eleven in the day, and the victory was decided. The Imperialists were in possession of all the intrenchments, and the Turks fled on every side in terror and dismay. During the battle the town was pressed vigorously from the other side, and capitulated the same day. The consequence of this glorious day was the peace of Passarowitz, in the following year.

### 3. SPAIN SEIZES THE ISLAND OF SARDINIA.

Montelcone, the Spanish ambassador in London, although discredited by his Government, had gone deeply into the conspiracy of the Swedish ministers, Görtz and Gyllenborg, and given money to advance its execution; while Cardinal Alberoni had entered into the matter heart and soul. This minister was never quiet, and was now disposed to enter into the war with the Turks. The Spanish King assured the Pope that he was only interested for the good of Christendom against the Turks, and in consequence he obtained an *indulto* for raising a subsidy on the church revenues in the Indies. He now however turned to a more interested quarter. Secure at Madrid, he had nothing to fear from Turks or Christians, but the King, his master, had cast a longing eye towards the Italian peninsula, whence he hoped to derive a patrimony for his second son. In August an armament of twelve ships of war, carrying 9000 men, left Barcelona secretly, and steered for Sardinia. Cagliari, the capital, was defended by the Austrian governor, the Marquis of Rubi, who found himself suddenly besieged and obliged to surrender to the Spaniards; in two months afterwards the whole island, which be-

longed to the Emperor, acknowledged the domination of the Catholic King.

Other preparations were pushed forward by the zeal and activity of Cardinal Alberoni, with equal vigour and equal secrecy, which were destined for Naples and Sicily. Another expedition was preparing at Barcelona. The grandees, prelates, provinces, and cities, taxed themselves for this expedition voluntarily, or in obedience to the papal rescript, and raised regiments at their own expense.

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## 1718.

1. THE QUADRUPLÉ ALLIANCE.—2. GREAT BRITAIN AND SPAIN PREPARE HOSTILE ARMAMENTS.—3. ADMIRAL BYNG ENTERS THE MEDITERRANEAN.—4. THE NAVAL BATTLE OFF PASSARO.—5. MESSINA TAKEN BY THE SPANIARDS.—6. WAR IN THE NORTH.—7. DEATH AND MILITARY CHARACTER OF CHARLES XII.

### 1. THE QUADRUPLÉ ALLIANCE.

The great powers of Europe beheld with astonishment Spain awakening from the lethargy of a hundred years, and displaying a vigour and enterprise worthy the brightest days of that monarchy. The King, when questioned, promised to suspend all operations after the conquest of Sardinia, but he, nevertheless, continued all his warlike preparations, both by sea and land. The apprehension of a renewal of a general war in Europe roused the courts of St. James and Versailles, gave firmness to the determination of the British Government, and fixed the wavering policy of the French Regent. The two ministers, Stanhope and Dubois, agreed upon terms for an accommodation that might be offered for the outbreak between the Emperor and the King of Spain ; and on the other hand means were taken to hasten the peace between the former and the Sultan ; these negotiations at length produced a treaty between Great Britain, France, and Holland, which was at first called the triple, but after it was joined by the Emperor, it was named the quadruple alliance, against the unjustifiable conduct of Spain.

### 2. GREAT BRITAIN AND SPAIN PREPARE HOSTILE ARMAMENTS.

Accordingly on the 4th of June twenty-one sail of the line under Admiral Byng left Portsmouth for the Mediterranean, with peremptory orders to attack the Spanish armament wherever they should find it, if engaged in any hostile enterprise against Sicily or Naples. Cardinal Alberoni protested loudly against these naval preparations, although he was at the same time assembling one of the greatest and most formidable armaments that had been ever equipped by Spain since the days of the grand Armada. Twenty-nine ships of the line, with a host of transports, having on board 35,000 troops,

100 pieces of heavy artillery, forty mortars, and a vast supply of ammunition and stores of all kinds, were now preparing under the command of Admiral Castañeta and General the Marquis de Lede, who had captured Sardinia the preceding summer. This armament was equipping at Cadiz, but no one knew its destination. As Byng passed Cadiz, he transmitted a copy of his instructions to the British minister, Stanhope, who communicated it to Alberoni. The Cardinal tore the paper, and threw it on the ground in a paroxysm of rage, returning only for answer, "Byng will of course execute the orders he has received from the King, his master." A few days later this powerful Spanish armament set sail from the port.

### 3. ADMIRAL BYNG ENTERS THE MEDITERRANEAN.

The English fleet went on, entered the Straits, and sailed up the Mediterranean, coming to anchor in the Bay of Naples. The arrival of Byng is said to have presented a magnificent spectacle; the whole city was in a tumult of joy and exultation. The shore was crowded with multitudes of coaches and people. The Admiral, on landing, was saluted by all the cannon from the city and castles. The Austrian viceroy, Count Daun, received him with exceeding joy, and placed a palace at his disposal. The people received him with the greatest acclamations, and with all the honours and ceremonies paid to a viceroy. There was not, however, a single Spanish ship there, and Byng was informed that they had all sailed away, and were already arrived in Sicily, where they had landed and were reducing Messina to extremity.

Byng forthwith sailed from Naples, and on the 9th of August was in sight of the Faro of Messina. Here he found the Piedmontese governor besieged. Meanwhile the Spanish troops had landed, and taken possession of Palermo on the 13th of July. The Admiral despatched a polite message to the Marquis de Lede, proposing a cessation of arms in Sicily for two months. The Spanish general replied, he had no power to treat, and consequently could not agree to an armistice; but should obey his orders, which were to reduce Sicily for the King, his master. The Spanish fleet had sailed from the harbour of Messina on the day before the English squadron appeared; but the admiral descried, in the offing, two Spanish galleys, and, standing after them through the Faro, they led him to the Spanish fleet, amounting to twenty-seven sail, besides fire-ships, bomb-vessels, and galleys, drawn up in order of battle. They were commanded in chief by Don Antonio Castañeta, under whom were four rear-admirals, Chacon, Guevara, Mari, and Cammock. At sight of the English fleet, they "stood away large," and Byng gave chase for all the rest of the day, but in the morning of the 11th of August, the Spanish Admiral Mari, with six ships of war and all the fire-ships and galleys, separated from the main fleet, and stood in for the Sicilian shore. Byng then detached Captain Walton, with six ships in pursuit of them, and they were soon engaged. He himself continued to chase the main fleet, and about ten o'clock the battle began.



## 4. THE NAVAL BATTLE OFF PASSARO.

The English in this engagement had 8885 men, and 1400 guns, in twenty-one ships; the Spaniards 8830 men, and 1284 guns, in twenty-nine ships; besides which, the Spaniards had seven galleys of great use in battle, especially in calm weather. It was ten o'clock when Captain Falkingham, in the "Orford," of seventy guns, and Captain Nicholas Haddock, in the "Grafton," another seventy, came up first with Castañeta's main body. The Spaniards began to fire with their stern-chase guns, but Falkingham soon came to closer fire, and attacked and took the "Santa Rosa," of sixty-four guns. The "Prince of Asturias," a large seventy-four, was crippled by Captain Haddock, who left her to be taken by the "Breda," and stretched ahead after another Spaniard, who had kept firing on his starboard bow during his engagement with the "Prince of Asturias." Captain Mathews, in the "Kent," with less than a broadside, made the "San Carlos" strike, and about one o'clock came up with and engaged the "St. Philip," the admiral's ship. Two heavy Spaniards rallied on their admiral's quarter, and fired into the "Kent," when Captain Masters, in the "Superb," sixty, bore up to rescue her. Upon this, Castañeta's ship, and the two Spaniards that had stood by him, hauled off and made a running fight, until about three o'clock in the afternoon, when the "Kent" bore up and crossed under Castañeta's stern, then gave him a broadside, and kept to leeward. The "Superb," a minute or two after, fell upon the Spanish admiral's weather-quarter, when Castañeta shifted his helm to port to rake the "Superb" in return, but the "Kent" ranging up under his lee-quarter, he now thought himself obliged to strike, and lowered his flag accordingly. In the mean while, the English admiral, in the "Barfleur," had engaged the Spanish Rear-Admiral Guevara, who, after giving a broadside, stood in for land, with Byng after him. The admiral thus got away from the main body of his own fleet, but had no success in the pursuit of Guevara, and could not get back till two hours after sunset. His captains had been, in the main, more successful. The "Essex" had taken the "Juno," of thirty-six guns; the "Montague" and "Rupert" the "Volante," of forty-four; and the "Dorsetshire," Rear-Admiral Delavat, had captured the "Isabelle," sixty. The English ships had received but little damage. The "Grafton," the best sailer in the fleet, suffered most—her brave captain having always pursued the headmost, engaged several of the enemy, one after another, leaving the ships he had disabled or damaged to be taken by those that followed him, whilst he made the best of his way after the fast-sailing Spaniards that were attempting to escape.

This action, which was chiefly decided off Cape Passaro, on the Sicilian shore, was fought on the 11th of August. The Spaniards stood to their guns with much bravery, and maintained the contest until dark; by which time Byng had captured the Spanish admiral commanding in chief, a rear-admiral, five ships of the line, and two large frigates. On the 13th, two days later, Captain Walton, who

had been detached after Mari and the Spanish galleys, with six ships of the line, wrote this laconic and often-quoted despatch to Byng, "Sir, we have taken and destroyed all the Spanish ships and vessels that were upon the coast, the number as per margin." By his marginal reference, it appeared that he had captured four ships of war, one mounting sixty guns, commanded by Mari himself, one of fifty-four, one of forty, and one of twenty-four guns, with a bomb-ketch; and he had burned and destroyed four men-of-war, one of fifty-four, two of forty, and one of thirty; and after having done all this, had quietly gone into the ancient part of Syracuse, to "await further orders." The Spanish fleet was, in fact, annihilated by this one blow.

#### 5. MESSINA TAKEN BY THE SPANIARDS.

Byng having collected his ships after the action, put into Syracuse, which was at this time blocked up by a detachment of the Spanish army, and was garrisoned by Count Maffei, the Duke of Savoy's viceroy of Sicily, in person. Byng had orders to make good such a footing in Sicily, as might, if possible, enable England and her allies to land an army there; and this brave and skilful commander thought it his first duty to save the citadel and recover the town of Messina, which was defended by a Piedmontese garrison, under Marquis d'Andorno. The Duke of Savoy, being unable to reinforce it, had solicited the Emperor for assistance, and Baron Wetzel, with troops, had been sent in Byng's ship for that purpose; but the viceroy was so elated with Byng's success, that he thought he could get on without him, and tried to temporize before he received the troops. Byng, however, was firm, and Maffei, seeing he could no longer avoid it, permitted the German troops to enter the citadel of Messina. Lede was, however, no faint-hearted officer, and kept still in the town, pushing forward the siege of the citadel with so much vigour, that the Savoyard governor capitulated on the 29th of September, to the great mortification of the Imperialists and the British admiral.

At the end of the year's campaign the Spaniards were masters of all Sicily, except Syracuse, Trapani, and Melazzo, in which three places the Duke of Savoy had considerable garrisons. The Spanish army was numerous, and well appointed; and the affections of the Sicilians seemed rather to incline to their old masters than either to the Savoyards or Germans.

The destruction of the Spanish fleet at the battle of Passaro was a subject that employed the deliberations and conjectures of all the politicians in Europe. Admiral Byng not only had no declaration of war against Spain to justify him, but he openly declared that the destruction of the Spanish fleet was not to be interpreted into such a declaration; his instructions, however, were positive; and fortunately for him there happened no ministerial change at home to tarnish his laurels by representing it as an "untoward event." The Cardinal felt that the defeat off Cape Passaro, if known in Spain, would destroy his power, and had recourse to the absurd expedient of prohibiting all

information, or even discourse, about the disaster. He wrote at once to the Spanish ambassador in London, Monteleone, commanding him to quit England immediately, and he seized all the British goods and vessels in the ports of Spain, imprisoned or dismissed all the British consuls, and gave letters of marque to privateers.

#### 6. WAR IN THE NORTH,

Charles of Sweden set off a second time for the conquest of Norway, in the month of October: he had so well prepared his measures, that he thought to make himself master of this kingdom in six months. He loved to contend for victory amidst the snows and ice, that kill the very animals; and his glory was more flattered at taking rocks in winter, than the most lovely provinces of Germany in a fine season. In the month of December, Charles sat down before Frederikshall. The soldiers could scarcely penetrate the soil to form the trenches, from the effects of the frost, which made the ground like the rock. His constitution of iron, acclimated by eighteen years of hardship, endured sleeping in the open fields of Norway, in full winter, with the simple covering of a cloak; but his soldiers died of cold at their posts. Nevertheless, they did not care to complain, when they saw how the King exposed himself to the same suffering.

On the evening of the 11th of December he visited the trenches with Megret, a French engineer, who conducted the siege. He complained that the works were not sufficiently advanced, and stopped with him at a spot where the trench entered the parallel. He was resting on his knees, with his elbow on the parapet, surveying the workmen, who were opening the ground by starlight, when he was seen to fall on his head, on the parapet, and utter a deep sigh. He was taken up dead, with his forehead beaten in by a half-pound shot. Death must have been instantaneous, nevertheless he instinctively placed his hand to his sword, and was discovered in that attitude. The death of the King occasioned the immediate raising of the siege. The Swedish people, more overwhelmed than flattered by the glory of their Prince, sought to make peace, and to repress the inordinate power possessed by Baron Görtz, who was immediately arrested and brought to the scaffold by the nobles, who had been offended by the insolence of his behaviour towards them. The death of Charles was fortunate for the allies. It put an end to the many intrigues both of Cardinal Alberoni and Görtz. Sweden was powerless any longer to resist, and the Czar, the King of Denmark, and King George of Hanover, were well pleased to keep possession of what they had acquired (not all of them very honestly) in the course of the war.

#### 7. DEATH AND MILITARY CHARACTER OF CHARLES XII.

This Prince, on coming to his authority, had wrongs to redress, and injuries to retaliate. His neighbours, the Czar, the Kings of Denmark and Poland, and the Elector of Hanover, in a most unprincipled league, endeavoured to spoil the minor of his territories;

but, if we except his cruel treatment of Patkul, vengeance was not one of his chief characteristics, and was not the motive of his conduct. He followed war for its pleasures and for its excitement :—

“No joys to him pacific sceptres yield,  
War sounds the trump, he rushes to the field.”

It was the excitement of war, not the object to be obtained by it that inspired him. Accordingly he could scarcely be called a great commander; for though he commanded armies, gained victories, and understood the commentaries of Cæsar, he had no notion of tactics; he neither possessed any extensive military genius or knowledge whatever; nor did he evince any of the resources of a well-informed mind in matters of difficulty. All he ever did, from Narva to Pultowa, was to dash forward with any portion of his army that could keep up with him, and without any consideration of the number of men who were opposed to him, or how posted; he went into the *mêlée* perfectly indifferent how many of his soldiers perished with or without him. He made war with no object; his ambition did not lead him to desire territory, and he had no principle of public or national feeling to advance. When he had gained a victory he did not know what to do with it, and only longed for another. He was utterly indifferent to all that became his station in manners, habits of life, or equipage. Though not rude to women, he paid them very little attention, and at a time when his army occupied Leipsic, and he was constrained to pay a visit of ceremony to the Queen of Poland, (to whom he especially owed sympathy and compassion,) he did not speak above three words with her, but talked during the whole visit with a foolish little dwarf, whom her Majesty had in her suite. In his habits he was slovenly and filthy—the yellow leather waistcoat and breeches, which are such a characteristic in all the pictures of this Sovereign, “were so greasy that they might have been fried.” His meals consisted of small beer, which he drank at a great draught, with coarse bread, on which he spread butter with his thumb. He was never more than a quarter of an hour at table, and never spoke a single word whilst he was eating. He had no sheets or canopy to his bed, but rolled himself up in a rug upon the tressels, and stretched and shook himself for all his toilet when he awoke; he never combed his hair but with his fingers, which were never very clean; and he wore gloves only when on horseback. His horses were ill selected and worse groomed with rough coats and thick bellies, and were covered with sackings instead of horse-cloths, when not saddled,—which, however, they mostly were, awaiting the King’s rides; and these were solitary and very extensive. The grooms were in keeping with the stable, and were the veriest loons that ever served a Monarch. The only thing that looked fine in his equipage was a large gilt Bible, which always lay at his bedside. He had very many characteristics of a savage chieftain—indomitable courage, reckless of consequences, and never calculating chances; but he was inferior even to him in the military qualities of caution and circumvention. He was just a wilful man

with an iron constitution, strong determination, and an utter disregard of danger, who came early into the possession of power, and was beyond all control of friends. It has been well said of this Prince, "qu'il n'étoit point Alexandre, mais qu'il auroit été le meilleur soldat d'Alexandre."

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## 1719.

1. DECLARATION OF WAR BETWEEN GREAT BRITAIN AND SPAIN.—2. SPAIN SENDS AN ARMAMENT AGAINST GREAT BRITAIN, WHICH IS WRECKED.—3. A PORTION REACHES SCOTLAND, AND IS DEFEATED AT GLENSHIEL.—4. A BRITISH FLEET SENT TO THE BALTIC UNDER SIR JOHN NORRIS.—5. FRANCE ENTERS INTO THE WAR WITH SPAIN.—6. BRITISH EXPEDITION AGAINST SPAIN.—7. THE WAR IN SICILY. BLOCKADE OF MELAZZO RAISED.—8. BATTLE OF FRANCA VILLA.—9. MESSINA BESIEGED AND TAKEN.—10. THE SPANIARDS PROPOSE TO QUIT SICILY.—11 CONCLUSION OF THE WAR WITH SPAIN.

### 1. DECLARATION OF WAR BETWEEN GREAT BRITAIN AND SPAIN.

The declaration of war by Great Britain against Spain, was at last made, with the usual solemnities, early this year, six months after Hyng had captured and destroyed the Spanish fleet.

### 2. SPAIN SENDS AN ARMAMENT AGAINST GREAT BRITAIN, WHICH IS WRECKED.

As Cardinal Alberoni was now deprived of his Swedish allies, both the King and his minister determined to take up the cause of the Pretender, who received and accepted an invitation to repair to Spain. He was received at Madrid most royally, as legitimate Sovereign of Great Britain, and the palace of Buen Retiro was allotted to him for a residence. The Cardinal prepared, at Cadiz, a formidable armament, for the invasion of England, of ten ships of war and transports, having on board 6000 troops, and arms for 12,000 men. His Britannic Majesty having received from the French Regent timely notice of this intended invasion, assembled troops in the north and west of England, and offered rewards for the apprehension of the Duke of Ormond, who had been appointed to command the expedition, or any other gentleman who should embark in it. At the same time he demanded assistance from the States General, to the extent of 2000 men. The Duke of Orleans also offered King George twenty battalions for his service. But Ormond never came; a storm in the Bay of Biscay drove him back to Spain, and entirely frustrated Alberoni's expedition; many of the ships were lost; others were saved by throwing overboard the guns, arms, and horses provided for the campaign.

### 3. A PORTION REACHES SCOTLAND, AND IS DEFEATED AT GLENSHIEL.

Of five ships of the line and twenty transports, with 5000 soldiers,  
VOL. I. M

only two frigates and 300 men, with the Earl Marischal Keith, Lord Seaforth, and the Marquis of Tullibardine, ever reached the British coast. A few hundred Highlanders began to muster round the Spaniards who came with Keith, and landed at Kintail, in Ross-shire, on the 16th of April, where they possessed themselves of Donan Castle. Some ships of war were accordingly brought down to the coast, and General Wightman, with about 1000 men, moved from Inverness in the beginning of June in quest of the insurgents, whom he found advantageously posted across the valley of Glenshiel. At the approach of the King's forces, these retired to the pass at Strachell, which they resolved to defend. They were estimated at 2000 men, but Wightman, relying on the discipline of his troops, fell upon them on the evening of the 10th of June, (the Pretender's birthday,) and gave them a complete defeat. The Highlanders dispersed and ran home to their mountains, and the 300 Spaniards were obliged to surrender at discretion. The King's troops had about twenty killed and 120 wounded.

#### 4. A BRITISH FLEET SENT TO THE BALTIC, UNDER SIR JOHN NORRIS.

The fall of Charles XII., his old antagonist, had given the vindictive and ambitious Czar fresh hopes of adding Sweden to his dominions. This arbitrary and unprincipled attempt the British court would by no means permit. Sir John Norris was sent to the Baltic, where the Czar had a fleet, and had landed an army of 15,000 men in Sweden, who committed dreadful outrages. Sir John was on this occasion called upon to enter the lists of naval combat against one whom he had formerly instructed, and under whom, out of delicacy and compliment, he had once nominally served as commander-in-chief. Peter always liked a naval commander, and an especial friendship existed between him and Norris. The admiral, with his flag on board the "Cumberland," sailed on the 10th of June, but only brought eight ships of the line with him, with which he arrived at Carlscrona to co-operate with the Swedish fleet. He was ordered to accommodate differences, if possible, without proceeding to extremities, and the Czar no sooner heard of his approach, than he withdrew his troops, and thought it prudent to carry his fleet into the harbour of Revel, and shrink from a contest to which he knew his fleet, the political idol of his heart, was unequal. The year passed on, therefore, without any action, and Sir John sailed from Copenhagen, on his return to England, on the 12th of November.

#### 5. FRANCE ENTERS INTO THE WAR WITH SPAIN.

France also had now made a declaration of war against Spain, and sent an army of 30,000 men to secure the frontier of the Pyrenees. The Marshal Duke de Berwick was pitched upon to command this army. He had been the most devoted servant to King Philip, during the war of the succession, and was half-brother (illegitimately) of the Pretender. He had been much affected at this breach between the two countries; yet he enjoyed, in a great degree, the confidence of the Regent, who was personally attacked in the war; and he made

all other considerations subservient to what he deemed the great line of duty he owed to France. King Philip put himself at the head of a very indifferent Spanish army, to oppose the French, for the best of his forces were in Sicily and Sardinia, and he advanced to the Pyrenees. He was no soldier, but as the only surviving grandson of Louis XIV., he thought to appeal to the loyalty of the French army, and had even formed the design of advancing singly into their ranks to appeal to their affections. The politic Cardinal prevented this, and instead, dispersed a good stock of manifestoes and proclamations among the soldiery. They failed, however, in their effect; for, instead of passing over to Philip, the French troops began to take his towns and castles under his very eyes. The Cardinal had employed extraordinary energy in calling forth the resources of Spain, and at every port along the coast ships had been built, or were in process of building. It was an important part of Berwick's instructions to destroy these dockyards, which had been watched with a jealous eye, both by the French and English: and as early as March, Colonel Stanhope, who had been sent as Commissioner to Berwick's army, was able to report that he had the satisfaction of witnessing a new ship of seventy, two of sixty, and some other vessels, recently built, together with a vast quantity of timber and naval stores, burnt to ashes. Before the commencement of May Fuenterrabia was invested, and it surrendered on the 18th of June. An English squadron co-operated on the coast with the French army, and took on board about 1000 soldiers, for the port of St Antonio, where they destroyed three fine new ships of the line on the stocks, and the materials collected for building seven more. The strong town and citadel of St Sebastian was compelled to surrender on the 19th of August. Berwick next laid siege to the castle of Urgel, which surrendered on the 11th of October. He then attempted that of Rosas, but without success.

#### 6. BRITISH EXPEDITION AGAINST SPAIN.

Towards the end of September a strong squadron of five ships of war under Admiral Mighells, with 4000 troops on board, commanded by Lord Cobham, appeared off Corunna and ran along the coast to Vigo. The British landed about three miles from the town, and encountered only a few peasants, who fired on them from the distant hills. The garrison of Vigo spiked their guns in the town and retired to the citadel, where they were compelled to surrender on the 10th of October. Cobham found forty-three pieces of ordnance, 8000 muskets, 2000 barrels of gunpowder, and slave-sloops, which were all seized and carried off. Major-General White was then sent to reduce Pontevedra, which surrendered on the 23rd, and the expedition returned to England on the 11th of November.

#### 7. WAR IN SICILY. BLOCKADE OF MELAZZO RAISED.

In Sicily, for which everything had been sacrificed, the course of the war was equally unfavourable to Spain. The Marquis de Lede, the Spanish General, moving with a part of his forces from Messina,

had undertaken the siege of Melazzo, a very important and fortified place, built on a tongue of land, which juts out into the sea towards the Lipari Islands. The allies had the complete mastery at sea, under the able direction of Sir George Byng; and troops, both German and Neapolitan, had been carried across the Straits and landed at the Molehead of Melazzo. The defence of the place had been entrusted to General Caraffa, a brave Neapolitan officer, and the siege now assumed a new and singular character. Considerable reinforcements had been brought over from Italy; and as the town was small, and afforded scanty lodgment for so large a garrison, intrenchments had been pushed forward, so as to cover a camp in front of the place, between the walls of the town and the besieging force of the Spaniards. The Marquis de Lede had also intrenched himself, and thus the two armies had lain within musket-shot of each other during the whole winter. The soil was marshy, and exposed to the storms and the seas, so that the trenches often filled with water. The Germans and Neapolitans had no provisions but what were brought over from time to time from Calabria; and the inhabitants of the Lipari Islands, who were bold mariners, intercepted a great deal of these under the Spanish flag, and carried home the provisions to the islands that lie scattered between the ever-burning Stromboli and the Sicilian coast. Great numbers perished in both armies of disease and hunger, of bad and unwholesome food. Byng's fleet did its best to provision the place, but Captain Walton, with the "Canterbury," and a squadron under his command, was blown off the station in a storm, and was not again seen or heard of for six-and-twenty days. The Spanish admiral, Cammock, a brave and adroit Irishman, seized this opportunity to leave Messina, and when the storm had abated, ran down the coast to Tropea, in which port provisions had been collected to be sent to Melazzo to the famishing Austrians and Neapolitans, as soon as the weather would permit. Cammock, on arriving, hoisted English colours, and sent a letter to the governor to say he was appointed by the admiral to convey these provisions to Melazzo, but the governor of Tropea happened to be a wary and acute man, and observed that the letter was not written on English but on Genoa paper—so that, suspecting some trick, he refused to send the supplies. Had the stratagem succeeded, the garrison at Melazzo would, in all probability, have been compelled, by hunger, to surrender. A few days after, Walton recovered his station, and Cammock ran back to Messina without accomplishing anything. In the meanwhile Byng, being informed of the extremities to which the Germans and Neapolitans were reduced, sent four English men-of-war to carry provisions to Melazzo, directing the captains at all hazards to make that port. One of these was disabled in a storm, but the three others relieved the garrison at a very critical moment. The Spaniards, however, worked hard to strengthen their position, so as to drive the garrison closer to the town, and prevent the descent of any fresh forces that might be sent to the succour of the besieged city.

Byng returned to Naples in the month of April, and left Captain



Mathews behind to observe Cammock at Messina, and prevent his escaping to the southward. Mathews had the good fortune to run one sixty-four ashore, whilst another Spanish sixty-gun ship was wrecked, so that Cammock was obliged to attempt his escape, which he effected with great difficulty in an open boat, leaving his own frigate with all its effects and papers in the hands of Captain Mathews. On the 27th of May, Byng, with the Austrian reinforcement, consisting of 10,000 foot and 3500 horse under Count de Mercy (which had been just before victorious in Hungary, and which Prince Eugene had been able to despatch into Italy from the Danube), appeared off Melazzo. They had been embarked at Baie in upwards of 200 transports, and the admiral convoying them from thence now landed them all safely, and with much celerity, in the Bay of Patti. Immediately on hearing this, the Spaniards, under De Lede, before Melazzo, decamped, and marched without halting some thirty-two miles to Franca Villa, an inland town in a hilly country, whence three roads branch off to Palermo, Messina, and Syracuse. They left behind them their sick and part of their artillery, most of their ammunition, and a considerable quantity of flour, all of which were taken possession of by De Mercy, who advanced by easy marches to Melazzo. Whilst matters were preparing here for the further operations of the army, Count Seckendorf was despatched with 2500 men and 150 horse to reduce the Lipari islanders, who had made themselves troublesome in privateering; and this being successfully accomplished, De Mercy on the 17th of June turned his attention to the Spaniards under De Lede at Franca Villa. The force he carried with him amounted to 21,000 men. The Spaniards, unencumbered with baggage, had made their march in a single day, which De Mercy, a sanguine man, interpreted as a proof that they were panic-stricken, and would make no great stand against him. His Austrians, however, took three days to get over the same ground, and suffered exceedingly from thirst, the burning sun, and the armed and hostile peasantry of Sicily upon the march. The soldiers were also oppressed with the weight of their ammunition and of the six days' bread they carried. At last, however, they reached the top of the mountain of Tre Fontane, and discovered the Spaniards encamped below in the plain of Franca Villa.

#### 8. THE BATTLE OF FRANCA VILLA.

The Marquis de Lede had protected his front by the steep rocky banks of the river Cantara, which is nearly dry at this season, while the bed is rugged and difficult to pass; and the bare steep banks, running from six to eight feet in perpendicular height, are at this part hard to climb. His left was on the rising ground above the little town of Franca Villa, extending to a ridge of hills, which was occupied by the armed peasantry: his other flank rested upon an irregular hill, defended by intrenchments and some stone walls. In advance of him and on the other side of the Cantara, but joined by a bridge to the town of Franca Villa, was a steep isolated rock with a convent of Capuchins upon it: and this De Lede had garrisoned with

five battalions of his best troops, under the command of the gallant Villadarias. The steep river Castiglione runs into the Cantara, close behind this hill. The Austrians could obtain no information, for neither peasant nor deserters came to them, so that they were ignorant of the strength and advantages of Lede's position until they got into action, and were within musket-shot of the Spanish intrenchments. The Austrian commander is described to have been short sighted, almost to purblindness, full of fire, bold, and resolute, but exceedingly rash in conduct. Zumjungen, the second in command, was of a sedate, deliberate temper. The movements of the Austrians are proverbially slow, and night fell before their attacking columns were ready. At break of day the second line of foot, consisting of twelve battalions, under General Seckendorf, and all the horse, consisting of thirty-five squadrons, under General Count d'Eckmerling, meeting twelve squadrons of the enemy as they descended into the valley, drove them in behind their intrenchments. Count de Mercy now perceiving that the enemy possessed several considerable posts on a hill to the right, from whence they might flank him in his proposed attack, ordered Seckendorf and the Prince of Hesse-Cassel with six battalions to go and dislodge them, and then to return and join him in the valley; while Generals Zumjungen and Wallis were ordered to defer their attack till they saw that Seckendorf was successful. The hill the general had to climb was, however, so steep and difficult that it took his troops some time to get up, and the enemy, seeing their object, strengthened their front, which induced De Mercy to send up four battalions more, so that it was four in the afternoon before Seckendorf could commence the attack with his ten battalions; nevertheless, he now drove back the troops opposed to him into their lines. At the same time Wallis with four companies of grenadiers attacked another party on the same hill, and drove them in, whilst seven more companies, supported by the battalions and dragoons of Anspach, attacked and carried a small intrenchment which the enemy had made across the valley, and having been reinforced by two battalions, which had been drawn from the left, they advanced about six in the evening, on the rocks of the Capuchins. Here they were received with such vigour, and found the ground so difficult, that they were forced to give way. De Mercy threw forward fresh troops, and attack after attack was made upon the convent by the imperial troops, but Villadarias repelled them all. Seeing that another night was closing in, De Mercy put himself at the head of two fresh battalions to make another attack on the convent, but after having one horse killed and two wounded under him, he was himself dangerously wounded by a musket-ball and carried off the field. The Prince of Holstein was here also mortally wounded, and a son of Admiral Byng, who served as a volunteer, very dangerously. Darkness now put an end to the action. The Germans lost upwards of 3000 men, killed and wounded, and the Spaniards about 1500, but the latter kept the field, although the Germans retained several small posts they had carried. De Mercy would have renewed the contest in the morning, but was prevailed upon to desist, from the strength

of the position : and he accordingly withdrew his army in good order, hoping to re-establish his communication with the English fleet, and cut off De Lede and his army from Messina.

The fate of the war depended, however, entirely on Admiral Byng. The Austrians must have perished at this time for want of provisions, had they not been supplied by the English navy. We cannot enough admire the activity and indefatigable industry of this admiral, who, besides his natural character of a naval commander, at one and the same time performed with success and credit the several offices of ambassador, commissary, and general purveyor of the stores and necessaries requisite for the support and maintenance of a numerous army. The admiral, forgetting for a while his own station and element, set out on horseback for the Austrian camp. He found the Austrian generals quarrelling about the battle, and throwing the blame of it on one another :—De Mercy complaining of Zumjungen's dilatoriness, and the latter of his chief's rash impatience. De Mercy now proposed to put his army into cantonments, and await the arrival of reinforcements from Germany. Byng had already used all his influence with the Viceroy of Naples and at the court of Turin, to induce them to lay aside for the present the expedition agreed upon in the convention between the Emperor and the Duke for the conquest of Sardinia ; so that every soldier that could be spared might be sent immediately to Sicily. He, accordingly, recommended to De Mercy to undertake the siege of Messina, for which these expected reinforcements would suffice. He also insisted upon it for his own sake ; knowing well from the experience of the last two years the difficulty of keeping two squadrons, one within and the other without the Faro, to block up the Spanish ships in Messina and secure the passage of the provisions for the army. He considered, that to put the imperialist army into cantonments would convey to the world a worse opinion of the late action at Franca Villa than it deserved, and would give spirit to the enemy and to the Sicilians in their interest, who might conclude that they had been defeated and disabled. He removed one of the objections raised, by agreeing to provide siege artillery with a proportionate supply of gunpowder ; and to proceed to Naples to solicit personally every thing necessary for the enterprise. Indeed the whole of Byng's conduct in this little known but very curious war, was that of a most intelligent and active officer as well as of a most successful diplomatist.

The admiral forthwith repaired to Naples, where he found his old friend, Count Daun, removed from the government. He now proposed to the new viceroy, Count Gallas, to despatch some one to the Emperor to urge his arguments for the postponement of the Sardinian expedition, which was already assembled in Lombardy and Piedmont ; but the great difficulty he had, was to remove the jealousy of the Savoyard minister, who suspected that it was a plan to serve the Emperor in Sicily first, and to leave his own Sovereign in the matter of Sardinia to be served last, or not at all. Byng, however, fully convinced the Duke of Savoy's minister, that the expedient of sending the troops designed for Sardinia into Sicily was

the effect of hard necessity and not a pretence for postponing his master's interests; and in the end the court of Turin gave its consent to his scheme. The admiral's exertions to accomplish this object threw him into a fever, but his heart was so much in the business, that he determined to return to Messina, where he knew his presence was desirable, and caused himself to be carried to the bedside of Count Gallas, the viceroy, who was also himself confined to his bed, dying from the effects of malaria, occasioned by his travelling over the Campagna to his new government in the dog-days. The two noble invalids had a short conference on the business of the war, and then took leave. Count Gallas died two days after, but the sea voyage restored Byng, and he came to anchor off the Faro point, near Messina, on the 28th of July. During the admiral's absence from the fleet, Captain Haddock, in the 'Grafton,' had brought into the bay two large Genoese ships, with 600 Swiss on board for the Spanish army, and Captain Strickland, in the 'Lennox,' had driven a third on shore and burnt her, but the troops and sailors had been saved.

#### 9. MESSINA BESIEGED AND TAKEN.

The place was defended for Spain by the Marquis of Spinola, the inheritor of a great military name, and himself an officer of high reputation; he had with him a garrison of 3000 men, very insufficient for the extent of the works to be defended. De Mercy had retired across the straits to Reggio, in Calabria, to get recovered from his wound, leaving Zumunggen in command of his army, who began the siege on the 20th of July. General Wachtendonck had taken, by stratagem, the town of Taormina, a strong pass, by which he was able to advance without opposition, by the way of St. Alessio and La Scaletta, up to the outskirts of the town. The imperialists also took the Castel Gonzaga, which stood on a hill immediately behind the town, and commanded the port and nearly every part of the city, and they now effected a considerable breach in one of the bastions of the town. Hereupon Spinola withdrew his troops from the town into the exceedingly strong citadel, and then the Senate of Messina sent to propose a capitulation for the town. De Mercy's impatience would not permit him to remain all this time at Reggio, and notwithstanding the anguish of his wound, (from which, through the unskilfulness of the surgeons, the ball had not yet been extracted,) he returned to Messina in time to treat with the Senate; but he first desired to know whether he was to treat with the Messinese as subjects of his master, the Emperor, or as enemies. The people thought it best that they should consider themselves as Austrian subjects; and, accordingly, on the 8th of August, the citizens opened their gates, and threw themselves on the clemency of the Emperor. As soon as the city was in possession of the Austrians, Byng landed some English sailors and grenadiers, and took the tower of the Faro, by which a free passage was opened to his ships to enter the port. The remains of the Spanish navy, which had escaped at Passaro, were in the fine harbour of Messina. Two of the ships had belonged to the

Duke of Savoy, but had been captured by the Spaniards, at Palermo, and these were now reclaimed by the Duke. The Austrian claimed them, as having been found in the port of a town taken by his master's arms; but Byng denied the right of either party to take these ships, since, but for his fleet, they might have put to sea and escaped. However, in order to put an end to the dispute, and to prevent any conditions in their favour hereafter by the Spanish garrison in the citadel of Messina, he proposed to set up a good battery, and destroy these ships in harbour as they lay; which, notwithstanding all representations and protests, he succeeded in effecting; and the much-disputed ships were all sunk and destroyed, thus completing the ruin of the great fleet of Spain.

Five days after the surrender of the city, the fort of Castellazzo, and the old Norman castle of Matagriffone, were reduced by the Imperialists, aided by British sailors and grenadiers; but the strong citadel was exceedingly well provided, and everything seemed to promise a long siege. On the 13<sup>th</sup> of August the messenger returned with the account that the Emperor approved of the scheme proposed by the English admiral, to whom his Majesty wrote a very gracious letter, intimating that he had issued orders to the governor of Milan to despatch the troops, designed for Sardinia, to Vado, in order to be transported into Italy. Byng determined to run over himself to the continent, to inquire about these troops. After extraordinary exertions, he got together a number of transports, and with these he sailed down to Vado, which was near Genoa. Here, however, he was doomed to a series of disappointments. The Savoyard troops had not even commenced their march to the coast, and their general, Count de Bonneval, evinced the greatest jealousy at being employed under De Mercy; chagrined to see the troops, destined for Sardinia, under his command, diverted to another expedition, in which he could not enjoy an independent action. With infinite trouble Byng got two vessels sent away, under the convoy of his ships, with some artillery and ammunition for Messina. Some Germans had arrived, and the rest were on their way from Milan, but he saw no signs of transports being victualled, or fitted up for the reception of the troops, when they should all have arrived; so that at last the English admiral declared he would sail away for Messina, where his presence was wanted, and leave the army to follow as it could. This threat had some effect, and on the 27<sup>th</sup> of September about 6000 men were shipped off for Sicily, with such provisions as could be got together. On the 8<sup>th</sup> of October the admiral, with his convoy, arrived before Messina. The sight of his ships so elevated the spirits of the besieging army, that they attacked and carried a ravelin on the spur of the moment, and Byng landed his troops while this was going on. The siege of the citadel was now carried forward with increased vigour, and on the 17<sup>th</sup> an assault was made on the breach; but after two hours' engagement the besiegers were repulsed, with the loss of 120 men killed, and 617 wounded. Next day, however, the governor beat a parley, and surrendered upon articles. On the 21<sup>st</sup> the brave Spanish garrison

marched out through the breach, and were transported by sea, under an English convoy, to Augusta. Thus ended the siege of Messina, which lasted three months, and occasioned the besiegers tremendous loss in killed and wounded. In the midst of the siege, and nearly a month before it concluded, Byng had got over all the troops from Genoa, who thus arrived in time to share in the glory.

Whilst the siege of the citadel was depending, the Marquis de Lede decamped from Franca Villa, and fortified his army in a strong and advantageous position, at Castel Giovanni, to secure the magazines he had formed there; he now quitted that post, fixed his head-quarters at Castel Vetrano, and threw up lines, running from Alcamo to Salama, with a view of shutting up the Imperialists in the north-western quarter of the island, and of preventing their approach to the capital; and at first he was strong enough to hold these lines, and to lay waste the country about Marsala, Mazzara, and Trapani. The Imperialists were at their wits' end to know how to act in this emergency, and in their difficulty had recourse to the admiral, who proposed to convey their whole army by sea round to Trapani, where they disembarked on the 29th of January. As soon, therefore, as De Mercy had got together all his force, the Spaniards were obliged to give ground, and Lede was reduced to inactivity. De Mercy then made a movement to threaten Palermo, and Lede removed to the opposite extreme of his lines, in order to be nearer the capital, and immediately set to work to fortify himself with strong intrenchments and redoubts, and with heavy batteries of cannon.

#### 10. THE SPANIARDS PROPOSE TO QUIT SICILY.

But the war had gradually assumed a size which greatly aggravated the Spanish difficulties, especially in regard to supplies. The peasantry had now joined the stronger party, and turned against them. The rabble in Palermo were fierce and insolent. The English cruisers cut off all assistance from Spain, so that the Spanish commander renounced the idea of any longer maintaining himself, and made overtures to De Mercy and Byng for evacuating Sicily, upon condition of a free passage for his army back to Barcelona, or some other Spanish port in the Mediterranean.

This proposal was not disagreeable to the Austrians, who would thus obtain their object—the possession of the island—without further trouble, but Byng protested against it, and declared that not a man of the Spanish army should quit the island; because, to allow the Spanish army to go as proposed, would be to furnish Spain with her very best troops, with which she might attack other countries, and even England; but he did not object to De Mercy proposing to the Marquis de Lede to surrender Palermo, and the sea-board of the island, and to retire to his fortified camp in the interior, at Castel Giovanni. The Marquis consented to surrender Palermo, in consideration of a suspension of arms for three months; but while the negotiation was pending, events were in progress in Spain, which promised to bring the war to a conclusion. The Imperialists, how-

ever, in the interval, might have taken Palermo if they had been more active and daring.

### 11. CONCLUSION OF THE WAR WITH SPAIN.

The Duke of Berwick took Urgel on the 12th of October, but was obliged to raise the siege of Rosas on the 27th of November, on account of the weather, and put his troops in winter-quarters. The war had, however, convinced Philip that the French were in earnest in it, and resolved to act in concert with their allies.

The presence of a French army in Spain, the capture of the citadel of Mesina, the occupation of Trapani, the fears entertained for Palermo, and every tidings that arrived on military affairs from Sicily, exasperated the Spanish nation against their rulers; and Spain being oppressed and utterly exhausted, Philip saw the necessity of a general pacification. He now perceived that Cardinal Alberoni's ambitious projects had made him personally offensive to the Emperor, the King of England, and the Regent of France, who had all declared they would hearken to no proposal, while he should continue in office. The Spanish Monarch, therefore, by a royal decree, dismissed him from all his employments, and commanded him to leave the kingdom in three weeks; in the sequel, Philip consented to accede to the quadruple alliance. He therefore solemnly renewed his renunciation of the French crown, and promised to evacuate both Sardinia and Sicily within two months.

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## 1720.

1. THE WAR CONTINUES IN SICILY.—2. THE FIGHTING AT PALERMO STOPPED BY THE NEWS OF PEACE.—3. THE SPANISH KING AT WAR WITH THE MOORS IN AFRICA.—4. WAR IN SCANDINAVIA.

### 1. THE WAR CONTINUES IN SICILY.

The Count de Mercy and Sir George Byng were duly informed of the King of Spain's accession to the quadruple alliance, and sent a trumpet to the Marquis de Lede, who still remained in a hostile attitude at Alcamo. Lede consented to treat for a cessation of hostilities by sea and land, until they should receive further orders from their respective courts. De Mercy and Byng demanded as a preliminary, that the city and castles of Palermo should be surrendered, whilst Lede urged that each party should remain on the ground they now occupied, without either of them giving up any thing, till further orders from their courts. The British admiral and the Austrian general suspected some chicanery in this proposal, remembering, that but a few weeks before the Spaniards had offered to leave the whole island on condition of being sent back to Spain—besides which, the two forces were not at the moment equally situated

to abide the issue. The men-of-war and transports were lying at Trapani, an unsafe roadstead, where they suffered considerable damage, and the Imperialists were limited to one corner of the island; on the other hand, the Spaniards had possession of considerable corn depôts, and might have taken liberty to plunder and rifle a country they were soon to quit, if, indeed, they had any sincere intention of evacuating the island, of which their scrupling to surrender Palermo made it a question. The three chiefs accordingly agreed to have a conference, and on the 2nd of April they met at a spot agreed on between the two armies. De Mercy and Byng offered transports, provisions, and a convoy, but Lede maintained his point, declaring again, that without further orders from Madrid he would give up nothing, and so the conference broke off.

## 2. THE FIGHTING AT PALERMO STOPPED BY THE NEWS OF PEACE.

Immediately after the conference, Byng returned to his fleet at Trapani, and De Mercy marched, on the 8th of April, towards Alcamo, with the resolution of attacking the Spaniards; but Lede had retreated the night before, leaving his sick behind him, and scarcely resting till he reached the heights of Monreale, near Palermo. De Mercy instantly determined to invest that city. On the 18th of April both fleet and army were in motion for this object, and he got as far as Sala di Partenico, near the foot of the Monreale heights, where he found that Lede had fortified the passes that led through the hills into the narrow but beautiful plain of Palermo. De Mercy therefore divided the Imperialists into two bodies, sending one round to the sea-side with orders to force the pass of Ferro di Cavallo, and enter that way into the plain; while he himself, with the rest of his army, ascended the difficult mountains about Carini, in order to get down that way into the same plain, judging that if Lede moved from Monreale to defend the pass, he might get between him and Palermo, or, at least, have the advantage of falling upon his rear. With infinite toil and difficulty De Mercy gained the crest of the mountain at Carini, where he saw the much-coveted plain and city lying, as it were, at his feet; but he also discovered the whole Spanish army, which had wheeled round from Monreale, and encamped on the edge of the plain, occupying all the passes, and erecting breastworks and batteries to stop his progress. De Mercy instantly recalled the principal part of the division which he had sent to the sea-shore, leaving only a detachment to convey the artillery and baggage through Ferro di Cavallo, which pass the Spaniards had found it necessary to abandon. On the 21st the Imperialists began to descend from Carini, a most difficult and fatiguing march, by rugged paths and dry watercourses, but they got down before night, and drove in all the Spanish outposts. In the meanwhile Byng had come to anchor off Mondello, at the head of the Bay of Palermo, and had taken possession of the town and landing-place there. He had also landed some of his men, who established a communication between the shipping and De Mercy's camp. Lede now withdrew under the walls of the city, ranging his troops across the plain, with their left on Monte Caputo, and their



right on the sea near the Molehead. The Spaniards were thus covered by the fire of the works, and had strong intrenchments in their front lined with forty pieces of artillery. De Mercy encamped in the same plain, in their front, and within a mile and a half distance from them, with his right leaning on the mountain from which he had descended, and his left extending to Monte Pellegrino, near the sea-side. De Mercy then prepared to bring on a general engagement, in front of Palermo, as soon as possible. He detached Baron Nyrperg, on the 26th, to dislodge the enemy from some posts they had fortified near the Molehead, on the sea-side, while Baron de Witgenau with six companies made an attempt on Monte Pellegrino. Byng co-operated most vigorously by detaching three ships to cannonade the posts on the side of the sea, where the Spaniards were soon driven from their guns. Several sanguinary attacks were subsequently made upon the Spanish lines, and on the 2nd of May, while the enemy's guards were taking their siesta, the Germans surprised a redoubt, entered it without firing a shot, and pushed the Spaniards out at the point of the bayonet. This redoubt, though so badly guarded, commanded the whole of the Spanish line; and Lede being at table when he received the news of its capture, rose and ordered the army to be immediately drawn out, that he might retake it at any cost. De Mercy, on the other hand, was resolved to defend it, and both armies were in motion, and just on the point of engaging, when, fortunately for humanity, a little felucca shot into the bay and landed a courier from Spain, with positive orders to Lede to agree about the evacuation of Sicily and the transportation of the army back to Spain. The Marquis immediately drew off his army, and sent flags of truce to the Austrian general and the British admiral. The next morning Byng repaired to the imperialist camp, where a convention was drawn up and signed for the immediate departure of the Spaniards. The Gerinans were put in possession of Palermo, and the Spanish army marched to Terni, whence the first embarkation of 12,000 foot and 600 horse sailed on the 20th of June.

The admiral continued in the Mediterranean until he had seen the Islands of Sicily and Sardinia cleared of the Spaniards. Four battalions of Piedmontese troops were transported from Palermo to Sardinia, and took possession of Cagliari in the name of their master, the Duke of Savoy, who was forthwith declared King of Sardinia.

### 3. THE SPANISH KING AT WAR WITH THE MOORS IN AFRICA.

Delivered by this arrangement from his more immediate embarrassments in Europe, Philip, King of Spain, to flatter his people, directed his attention to Barbary. Ceuta, one of the keys of the Mediterranean, had withstood desultory but continued attacks from the Moors, during a blockade of twenty-six years. These infidels, having recently obtained the assistance of European engineers, had made their approaches with such skill and regularity, that in a few weeks they produced more effect than all the preceding attacks. To save so valuable a possession, and extend the Spanish empire in Africa, Philip augmented the forces now returned to him from

Sicily, and, having caught some portion of the fire and energy which Spain had derived from the vigorous hand of Alberoni, gave such activity to his preparations, as to revive the alarms of the European powers, lest he meditated some design against their peace. - Towards the end of autumn the powerful armament, consisting of 16,000 veteran troops, under the command of the Marquis de Lede, sailed from Cadiz. They landed on the Morocco coast on the 15th of November, marched against the infidels, forced their intrenched camp, took thirty-three pieces of artillery, and drove them towards Tetuan and Algiers. He repulsed them again, in two separate attacks, on the 9th and 21st of December, and advanced against Tetuan, with the intention of extending the Spanish dominion along the coast. Philip gratefully presented the three standards taken from the infidels to our Lady of Atocha, and one other was sent, with dutiful homage, from the most Catholic King to the Pope. The Marquis de Lede closed his operations with repairing the works, and reinforcing the garrison of Ceuta, when Philip, satisfied with their successes, recalled his victorious troops back to Spain. In retaliation for this attack, the Moors prepared to pour their predatory hordes on the coast of Andalusia, but the armament being dispersed by a storm, Spain was happily delivered from the scourge of a new Moorish invasion.

#### 4. WAR IN SCANDINAVIA.

The Swedes, at the instance of their Queen, had elected the Prince of Hesse, her consort, to be their Sovereign. This was to the exclusion of the young Duke of Holstein, her nephew. The Czar determined to espouse the hereditary right, and prepared for war with more than his usual vigour. Sir John Norris was in consequence again despatched to the Baltic. Having hoisted his flag on board the "Sandwich," 90, and having under him twenty ships of the line and four frigates, besides bomb-ketches and fire-ships, he sailed from Spithead on the 16th of April. Having arrived in the Baltic in the beginning of May, he was there joined by a squadron of Swedish ships, under the command of Admiral Wachmeister. The operations of the combined fleet were not, however, more fertile than those of the preceding year, in any belligerent enterprise; but Sir John followed up the representations he had made to the court of Denmark the previous year, and now effected a treaty of peace between the Danish and Swedish crowns, after which he returned home in the month of November.

## 1721.

1. PEACE SIGNED WITH SPAIN.—2. PEACE BETWEEN THE SCANDINAVIAN POWERS.—3. PROMOTION AND MILITARY CHARACTER OF BYNG, LORD TORRINGTON.—4. DEATH AND MILITARY CHARACTER OF JOHN, DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH.—5. MILITARY CHARACTER OF THE FRENCH MARSHALS DE BOUFLERS AND DE VILLEROY.—6. DEATH AND MILITARY CHARACTER OF GENERAL LORD STANHOPE.

## 1. PEACE SIGNED WITH SPAIN.

The treaty of peace between Great Britain and Spain was not signed till the 13th of June this year, at Madrid. The principal source of this delay arose from an interminable discussion relative to the restoration of Gibraltar. Philip, jealous of his nation's honour, could not listen with patience to the establishment of a foreign dominion within his own shores, and he avowed his anxiety to eradicate what he called "the thorn in his foot." The British Government had acquiesced in his desire so far as to propose the restitution of this conquest to Parliament. The ferment which such a proposal produced may be well imagined—that it should be ceded at the close of an eminently successful war, roused the national indignation. George I., nevertheless, went so far as to write to King Philip, to express "his own readiness to satisfy him with regard to his demand, relative to the restitution of Gibraltar, promising to make use of the first opportunity to regulate the matter with the consent of Parliament." Philip mistaking, or affecting to mistake, this offer as unconditional, accepted it, and demurred to any peace without it; but at length he acceded to the treaty.

## 2. PEACE BETWEEN THE SCANDINAVIAN POWERS.

The Czar still refusing to consent to the peace of northern Europe, it was once more judged necessary to equip a fleet, under the command of Sir John Norris, for the Baltic. Its force was nearly the same as it had been in the preceding year, consisting of twenty-one ships of the line with seven smaller vessels. Sir John sailed from the Nore on the 13th of April, and was again joined by the Swedish squadron. Peter, now finding it vain to persist any longer in his insane ambition, which the confederate crowns of Great Britain, Sweden, and Denmark were determined to restrain, at last consented to listen to reason and enter into negotiations; in consequence of which a peace was signed between Sweden and Russia at Nystad on the 31st of August. Thus the friendly union of France and England gave a peace to Europe which lasted twelve years.

## 3. PROMOTION AND MILITARY CHARACTER OF BYNG, LORD TORRINGTON.

On the 9th of September, 1721, Byng was advanced to the peerage

as Viscount Torrington, but died before another war required his services.

This officer went to sea as a volunteer in 1678, being then fifteen years old, having procured for this purpose a King's letter through the recommendation of James, Duke of York,—a mode of entering the service long since disused, entitling the person who possessed it to a rank equal to that of a midshipman at the present day. This class of young officers were then called King's letter-boys. In 1681 he quitted the service for a time, and at the instance of General Kirk, at that time governor of Tangier, served as a cadet in the grenadiers belonging to that garrison, and soon afterwards became ensign and subsequently lieutenant of infantry. It was when he was serving in this capacity, in 1683, that Admiral Lord Dartmouth arrived at Tangier with a fleet, and a patent of governor and commander-in-chief of the forces there, with orders to destroy the defences of the place and bring away the garrison; young Byng had thus an early opportunity of witnessing an exceedingly delicate and difficult duty performed with admirable success. The difficulty was to execute, with security to the troops, the destruction of all those military defences, which enabled a handful of men to resist the reiterated attacks of such hosts of enemies as the Moors; and after they had demolished their protection, to provide for the security and retreat of the force employed, before an exasperated and merciless enemy. This Lord Dartmouth effected with great success, and probably discovered in the business the merits of the young lieutenant of infantry, since he thenceforward took him under his protection, appointing him naval lieutenant to the "Oxford," though he also retained his military commission for many years afterwards. Through Lord Dartmouth's influence, and after much evidence of gallantry and good conduct, Byng was given the command of a ship, and served in the battle off Beachy Head as one of the seconds of Sir George Rooke. He was present at the battle of La Hogue, in the blue squadron under Sir John Ashby. He served as rear-admiral under Sir Cloudesly Shovel in the Mediterranean in 1702; and had a principal hand in the attack and capture of Gibraltar in 1704, and in the battle of Malaga, which followed it; for which services he was knighted. In the following year he received the command of the Channel fleet, in which he gained great applause, since he not only kept it clear from the enemy's cruisers, but completely shut up the French squadron in Brest harbour. The next year he received the command in the Mediterranean, and had a conspicuous share in the principal operations of that year, particularly in the preservation of Barcelona and the reduction of Alicante and Carthage. In 1707-8 he was appointed admiral of the blue, and sent to command the fleet destined to oppose the French armament at Dunkirk, under Count de Forbin, which was preparing to invade Scotland. He had on this occasion the good fortune to get a view of the enemy's force, by a fearless reconnoissance of the French fleet in their very harbour, which was of great consequence to his further proceedings. He commanded indeed a fleet of forty ships of the line,

but though he did every thing a most hearty zeal could suggest to meet and destroy the enemy's fleet, they got to sea and returned back to port again without an action. The House of Commons animadverted on this result, but the blame was removed from Byng's shoulders and laid upon the Admiralty. In the following year he again had the command on the coast of Scotland, and acted with so much diligence and activity in cutting off all communications between the coast and the Pretender, that he gained great credit, and the King created him a baronet. In the year following he was sent to the Baltic with a strong squadron, to restrain some machinations of that restless spirit, Charles XII. In 1718 he was sent to the Mediterranean command, in consequence of the vast naval preparations of the court of Spain. When the ministers consulted King George on the instructions the Admiral was to receive for this service, his Majesty said, "He could send him none, for he knew quite well how to act without any," and indeed he acted in all the different and difficult negotiations with the Emperor and the King of Sardinia, with a judgment, activity, and address, that made him the soul of the whole war. He contrived to act with the greatest harmony with all the Imperial viceroys and generals, as well as with the Italian ministers, showing all that discretion, the want of which has proved the ruin of many important expeditions. He was incapable of performing any duty in a cold and negligent manner, and devoted his whole time and application to any duty, not allowing fatigue or indisposition of body to drive him from it. Accordingly, he was never unfortunate in any undertaking, nor did he miscarry in any service entrusted to his direction; for what is usually called ill luck on these occasions is more frequently the effect of negligence, defective zeal, or imprudence. He left nothing to fortune that could be accomplished by foresight and application. His firmness and plain dealing contributed much to the despatch and success of his transactions. From the confidence reposed in him alike by Germans, Savoyards, and Spaniards, he was the common umpire to settle their disputes in all difficult cases, and he ever strove to reconcile the violence of war with strict rules of honour and justice, so that he left behind him every where the character of a great commander, an able politician, and an honest man. Lord Torrington's patent of peerage, which is dated September the 9th, 1721, contains such an eloquent exposition of the reasons of State that should govern such promotions, that it deserves the notice of naval and military readers. "As the grandeur and stability of the British empire depend chiefly upon knowledge and experience in maritime affairs, we esteem those worthy of the highest honour, who, acting under our influence, exert themselves in maintaining our dominion over the sea. It is for this reason that we have determined to advance to the dignity of the peerage, &c. &c. "In the late vigorous wars, which raged so many years in Europe, wars fruitful of naval combats and expeditions, there was scarce any action of consequence where he did not bear a principal part; nor were any dangers or difficulties so great, but he surmounted them by his exquisite conduct, and a good fortune that

never failed him. Lately, when new contentions were springing up in Italy, and the discord of Princes was on the point of embroiling Europe again in war, he did, with singular felicity and conduct, interpose with our squadrons, crushing at a blow the laboured efforts of Spain to set up a power at sea: and he advanced the reputation of our arms in the Mediterranean to such a pitch, that our flag gave law to the contending parties, and enabled us to resettle the tranquillity that had been disturbed. It is just, therefore, that we should distinguish with higher titles a subject who has so eminently served us and his country, both as a monument of his own merit, and to influence others into a love and pursuit of virtue. Know ye therefore," &c. &c. In 1725, on the revival of the Order of the Bath, he was installed one of the original knight companions, and continued to the end of his life, in 1732, to possess in the highest degree the favour and personal attachment of his Sovereign.

#### 4. DEATH AND MILITARY CHARACTER OF JOHN, DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH.

On the 16th of June this year died the great Marlborough, having lived for the last six years of his life in a state little removed from dotage. His funeral was splendid and almost regal. It was followed by the King and Prince of Wales, and a vast procession of the nobility and military, when the remains of the great hero were carried to Westminster Abbey, and there deposited at the east end of the tomb of King Henry VII.

John Churchill was the eldest son of Sir Winston Churchill, and was born at Ash, in Devonshire, on the 24th of June, 1650. After having been for a short time at St. Paul's school, he was made page to James, Duke of York, and became an ensign in the Guards at sixteen years of age. He first saw service at Tangiers. In 1672 he attended the Duke of Monmouth, who commanded a body of auxiliaries in the French service, when he distinguished himself at the siege of Nimeguen, so as to have been especially noticed by the great Turenne. In 1673 he was at the siege of Maestricht, where he gained great applause from Louis XIV. He was all along much favoured by James, who created him Baron Churchill, and made him brigadier-general; and his first service in that capacity was to quell the rebellion of his old friend the Duke of Monmouth, in which he was successful. His next service was against his royal patron, which mainly contributed to drive him from his throne. His subsequent brilliant career we have already briefly described.

It is more common to see the Duke of Marlborough compared with the warriors of our time, as a great military commander, than tested by the standard of his own. And yet whilst "comparisons are always odious," they are at the same time unjust, because no two men have precisely the same qualities or the same opportunities for exhibiting them; and, therefore, their characters must ever stand upon different foundations, and be built up with a totally different superstructure. Some qualities are probably held in common by all great military commanders. One of these is the habit of well judging of ground, or what is called *coup d'œil*; this was a remarkable characteristic of the

Duke of Marlborough, and is a faculty almost essential to a great general. He no where evinced it so remarkably as at the battle of Ramillies, where, at a glance, he discovered that Marshal Villeroy had so placed his left wing that he could not act offensively against him: Marlborough was thus enabled to employ all his forces against the French right and to crush it hopelessly. A leading feature of his character was his unrivalled self-possession. No other man could have tolerated the necessity of carrying on war with Dutch field-deputies at his side, who could never assist, but were always at hand to mar and cross his plans. This virtue was so conspicuous in him that it is cited by Adam Smith as almost peculiar to the Duke of Marlborough, and such as scarcely any other general can boast of. It was wonderfully conspicuous at the battle of Malplaquet, where the carnage was so sad on either wing, that the strongest representations were made to him for assistance, yet he kept his best troops unemployed, till his opponent had done that which he was sure he would be compelled to do—namely, draw his reinforcements away from the centre and weaken it. The moment Villars did this the Duke lanced forward his infantry upon their intrenchments, and having taken possession of them, he poured such a torrent of cavalry through them into the very centre of the enemy's line as swept him from the field defeated and divided. He possessed great endurance of fatigue and hardship, a quality indispensable to military success. He had also the art to attach his troops to him by a certain familiarity, which induced them to call him "Corporal John<sup>1</sup>," and by the great attention he always paid to their well-being, and his remarkable humanity towards the sick and wounded—but most particularly by that which recommends all leaders in war, his constant and never-failing success and victory. He had an address and irresistible manner of pleasing, which is remarked by all his contemporaries, and Lord Chesterfield ascribes the better half of the Duke of Marlborough's greatness to the possession of these graces. It was by his engaging manner that he was enabled during all the war to connect the various and jarring powers of the great alliance. The Duke's knowledge of character was also one of his distinguishing features. It is almost impossible for any reader of the history of his wars not to feel astonished that Prince Eugene should be so constantly associated with him in the command of armies, and that it was only when so united this Prince was uniformly successful. The fact was that Marlborough made it his task, and took extreme care, to ascribe the greater part of the credit of his operations to the advice of Prince Eugene, whose vanity was so much flattered by this seeming deference, that the Duke was able on all occasions to govern him. In his interview with the Swedish Monarch, he understood at once that the allies need have no misgiving in the progress of the war from that King, since Charles neither had, nor could have any engagements with France, being wholly engaged and occupied with a

<sup>1</sup> All armies give a soubriquet to a popular general. Frederick the Great was always "Fritz;" Napoleon, "Le petit Caporal;" Wellington, "The Beau."

feeling of resentment against the King of Poland. His judgment of the French Marshal Villeroy, when the Duke made his celebrated march into Germany, is another instance of it. "It will be a long time," he said, "before he will find out what I am about, and when he does find it out he won't know what to do." All great commanders appear to have one or two simple rules which guide their ordinary conduct. Marlborough had a manifest one—to be always the attacking party. There is no one instance in his whole career where he suffered himself to be forced to act upon the defensive in any great action. Another of his rules appears to have been, never to have his enemy at a distance from him; he, therefore, made it a point to advance as near to his opponents as possible, that he might ascertain all they were doing. He also knew that a divided command in an enemy always offered him an advantage, especially when occupied in large and complicated operations. These rules or principles he exemplified throughout his campaigns. The last mentioned was most remarkably manifest at Blenheim, where the armies of Marsin and Tallard were only just united, and were taking up their encampment when he attacked them; and at Oudenarde, where the Duke of Burgundy and Vendôme were passing a deep and considerable river, and he made a forced march in order to avail himself of this certain weakness.

There have been many great generals since Marlborough's time in the eighteenth century, and some (may be) greater still in the nineteenth, but I am induced, nevertheless, to subscribe to the character given of Marlborough by his great contemporary and political opponent, Lord Bolingbroke, "That Marlborough was the greatest general that our country or any other has ever produced." Marlborough's thorough knowledge of his art is exemplified in the whole of his military career. He showed himself a first workman at it, and (so to speak) finished off his work with a neatness and precision never seen in any other general's campaigns—he bungled nothing, he never attempted what he could not perform, and he always performed all that he attempted. The two most fitting examples of this quality are his first and last campaigns in the Netherlands. In 1702 he found the enemy insulting the allied army at the gates of Nimcguen, and drove them back to seek shelter behind their own lines; and in 1711, though his force was weakened at a moment when he might otherwise have invaded France, yet, when the vain-glorious Villars loudly proclaimed that he had brought the Duke to his *ne plus ultra*, Marlborough, by a few skilful and not very complicated movements, drew his enemy out of his strong ground, and not only occupied it, but laid siege to and captured the town of Bouchain, from which these famous lines were named, in the face of the French army and in their despite. It would be difficult to find any commander in any age or country to whom he can be thought inferior; he rather seems to have united the merits of them all. "He had the praise of Hannibal to command an army of many nations. He had the praise of Cæsar to lose no battle, nor fail in any siege. He was no desperate knight-errant like Charles XII. or



Peterborough. The great praise of Marlborough is, that his glory was reached step by step, by no sudden indulgence of fortune, by no single effort of military skill and valour. The careers of other generals have been ever marked by varieties of chance, by change of light and shade, by success and defeat. But this great man was always right. Enterprise succeeded after enterprise, campaign after campaign, still the result was always the same—progressive fame, increasing victories, endless triumphs<sup>1</sup>."

##### 5. MILITARY CHARACTER OF THE FRENCH MARSHALS DE BOUFLERS AND DE VILLEROY.

Marshal Bouflers was born in 1644, and learned his earliest lessons in war under the celebrated Turenne. He was already Marshal of France in 1694. The great glory of his military career was his defence of Lille in 1708. When Prince Eugene and the Prince of Orange visited him in his quarters after his celebrated defence, the former said to him, "M. le Maréchal, I am proud of taking the place, but I should have been prouder to have defended it like you." The opposing generals supped together on this occasion upon "*un roti de chair du cheval, comme un souper de citadelle affamée*." When France was menaced by such dangers as made Louis XIV. tremble on his throne, Marshal Bouflers, though at the age of sixty-eight, was induced to think of being useful again, and he desired permission to go as an assistant to Marshal Villars, an officer junior to himself. By him the chief command was immediately offered with proper courtesy to the elder commander. "No," said Bouflers, "I come merely to help you with my advice and experience." He however carried the French army out of the bloody field of Malplaquet with great judgment and success, but when afterwards he saw Villars (who had been wounded in that battle, but had nevertheless lost it) received with honours not at all shared by himself, he was tempted to demand of the King, as a present recompense, the sword of Constable of France. This outrageous pretension lost him the favour of Louis in his last years. He was a man of admirable military qualities, especially of great activity and vigilance; he evidenced these to such a degree at the siege of Lille, that he is said not to have gone to bed above three times, "*depuis l'ouverture de la tranchée jusqu' à la chamada*." Of wonderful coolness, nothing hurried him, not even the most anxious matters. He foresaw every thing, and forgot nothing. His strong sense of justice and delicacy, in giving and receiving counsel, was very much distinguished. He was so careful of his troops that he took the greatest care during the siege, which lasted sixty days, to make the food and ammunition of the garrison last the full time, by his own personal exertions to economize them, whilst he attended himself to see the food of the soldiers, and to watch the sick and wounded in hospital. It was said of him, "*Il se fatiguait pour tous*,"—his great object being to take care that nothing was wasted or insufficient, and

<sup>1</sup> Professor Smyth's Lectures.

to show an example that might animate others. He died at Fontainebleau in 1711. "In him," said Madame de Maintenon, "the heart died last."

#### MARSHAL DUKE DE VILLEROY.

The Marshal Duke de Villeroy was one of the grandest of men, with a figure for a king of the stage, and with a most agreeable countenance, magnificent in everything, and of excellent manners, but boastful and vain-glorious to excess. He was of rude health, strong, and muscular, and "il faisait de son corps tout ce qu'il voulait." He could be on horseback for fifteen or sixteen hours at a time without fatigue. The son of the King's governor, he was the companion and familiar of Louis from his youth, and very much beloved by him. As a military leader he was the very worst of his age; presumptuous, incapable of advice, and even of seeing his way "par de-là l'écorce." The King, who was very much set against Catinat, (a modest man, without friends in the Camarilla,) sent Villeroy into Italy to supersede him, and to repair the consequences of his own ill advice at Carpi, in 1701. He was at this time with the army on the Moselle, whence the King recalled him, and, without a word to any one, desired him to come to Marly to receive his orders. When he presented himself at the King's levee all the courtiers flocked to compliment him, except M. de Duras, the chief of the King's family, who neither liked the Marshal nor esteemed him. "Monsieur le Maréchal," said Duras, "tout le monde vous fait de compliment d'aller en Italie, mais j'attends à votre retour à vous faire les miens." He was, it will be remembered, taken prisoner soon after, at Cremona. His after-conduct at Ramillies lost him altogether the estimation of the King and his army, and he never served in the field again; but Louis called him to his ministry, in which he proved himself exceedingly capable, and he was made governor of the young King, Louis XV. He died at Paris in 1730, at the age of eighty-seven.

#### 6. DEATH AND MILITARY CHARACTER OF GENERAL LORD STANHOPE.

James, grandson of the first Earl of Chesterfield, entered the army in 1694, served in Flanders under King William, and was wounded at the siege of Namur. Appointed general in 1708, he captured Fort Mahon and reduced the Island of Majorca. In 1710 he gained the battles of Almenara and Saragossa; but was surprised and forced to lay down his arms, with the army under his command, at Brihuega, in 1710; after which he was not again employed in a military capacity, but rose to the highest distinction as a statesman, and came to his death whilst speaking in the House of Lords, in 1721. Although he had the misfortune to be twice a prisoner of war in five or six years, yet he was unquestionably a most active, intelligent, and enterprising officer, and his career offers a beneficial example to military men; for whilst in a service in which the great genius and fire of Lord Peterborough had, after signal success, involved the court and camp of King Charles in irrecover-

able discord, General Stanhope brought a cooler judgment into the command of his contingent, and by ability, integrity, and disinterestedness, obtained so full an extent of influence, as to draw from his Majesty, in a report to the Queen of England, "how many proofs he had given on all occasions of great zeal, attention, and most prudent conduct." Officers are not always sensible how much more is requisite besides even genius and bravery in war, to make a useful commander.

## 1725.

1. REVIVAL OF THE ORDER OF THE BATH IN ENGLAND.—2. DEATH AND MILITARY CHARACTER OF THE CZAR PETER THE GREAT.—3. TREATIES OF VIENNA AND HANOVER.

## I. REVIVAL OF THE ORDER OF THE BATH IN ENGLAND.

Immediately after the King of Great Britain had closed his session of Parliament in May, this year, and before he set out for his German dominions, he revived the Order of the Bath as a distinguished mark of military and civil merit. The number of knights was then limited to thirty-eight, including the Sovereign. As an officer's distinction this honourable order has been kept wonderfully pure, and has numbered amongst its associates the most renowned naval and military commanders of the century. It was extended into three classes, as at this time, after the Peninsular war, by George IV., then Regent. It was, however, a very ancient military order, but antiquaries differ as to its origin. It is said that the ancient Franks, when they conferred knighthood, required bathing before the vigils were kept, whence the name of the order. The Kings of England created Knights of the Bath at their coronations, from the time of Henry IV. to Charles II.

## 2. DEATH AND MILITARY CHARACTER OF THE CZAR PETER THE GREAT.

On the 28th of January, 1725, the Czar Peter expired at his palace, in the arms of his Empress Catharine. No man in the whole round of history has more deservedly earned the name of "great" than this wonderful man. Few will deny this who know in what real greatness consists. But his was not the mere greatness of military or naval command, but rather the quality that could produce this greatness in others. Peter Alexievich of Russia, when he arrived at years of manhood, found himself Sovereign of a vast and numerous people, master of an endless territory, and absolute commander of the lives and fortunes of all his subjects; yet, in the midst of this unbounded power and greatness, he turned his thoughts upon himself and people with shame and sorrow. He had been ill brought up, not only through the general defects of a Russian education, but likewise through the arts of the women who sur-

rounded him ; who tempted him with every thing that might stifle his natural desire of knowledge, deprave his mind, and enervate it with pleasures. Notwithstanding this, his inclination for military exercises discovered itself early ; and he formed a company of fifty men, clothed and exercised after the German manner, in which he entered himself into the lowest post, that of a drummer, to show thus early to his nobility, who were his companions, that merit, not birth, should be the title with him to military employment. The sight of a Dutch vessel that he met with on a lake, belonging to one of his pleasure-houses, made such an impression on his mind, that he conceived the apparently impracticable design of forming a Russian navy. It is said that a young Genoese, named Le Fort, who had acquired a knowledge of the Russian language, happening to be at Moscow with the Dutch ambassador, in 1695, when the Czar was only nineteen years of age, ingratiated himself with the Prince, and made him, by a slight knowledge he had obtained of the Russian language, comprehend that there was a different manner of living and reigning, from that which had existed in the Russian empire. The ardent desire that Peter ever after entertained to elevate the condition of his people is said to have been mainly owing to this circumstance. The young Czar, interested by what he learned from Le Fort, divesting himself of the prejudices of his throne and his country, became sensible that neither himself nor his people were yet to be reckoned among civilized men, and from that time took the resolution to leave his dominions, and set out like another Prometheus to borrow celestial fire for the reanimation of his country. Sordid ignorance and a brute manner of life this generous Prince beheld and contemned by the light of his own genius, but how to escape from these was necessarily the subject of much reflection and great decision of character. In 1698 he sent an embassy to Holland, and went incognito in the retinue, in order to inform himself fully in the art of ship-building in that country ; leaving a diadem to learn the true way to glory and honour—a knowledge of the useful arts wherein to employ the mass of his people. Mechanical employments were very justly the first objects of his favour and observation. He worked in the ship-yard of the village of Saardam as a private shipwright, earning wages like a common carpenter, and feeding like his fellow-labourers, under the name of Peter Mikhailoff. He also sent a number of young Russians to Venice, Leghorn, &c., to learn the art of ship building there. He did not, however, confine himself to the mechanical arts. He often went to Amsterdam to attend the anatomical lectures of the celebrated Ruysch. He also studied natural philosophy, astronomy, and geography. In January, 1698, he visited England, and worked under the name of Peter Trimmerman, in the dockyard at Deptford. After his day's work, he and his companions were wont to retire to a public-house to smoke and drink beer and brandy ; this house still bears the sign of "The Czar of Russia." He soon, however, broke his incognito here, and being received with politic attention by William III., took up his residence at Sir John Evelyn's, at Say's Court. Here he completed his know-

ledge and skill in the practical part of naval architecture, and has been often heard to say, that if he had never gone to England he had still remained very much behind in that art. At his departure the King made him a well-judged present of a fine yacht, completely equipped, in which he returned home. It would be endless to enumerate all the various establishments for which the Russians are obliged to Peter. He formed armies capable of contending with those of the most experienced nations. He fitted out fleets in all the four seas which border on his empire. He caused many strong fortresses to be raised on the best principles of fortification. He caused convenient harbours to be defended and sounded. He was generous in rewarding, impartial in punishing, faithful, laborious, and even humble in instructing, yet not free from a certain roughness of temper natural to his nation, and (the saddest part of his character) from habitual intemperance. He did not actually become "great," either as a general or an admiral, although he tried both the land and sea services, and personally gained victories on either element; his greatness in war was more owing to the constancy with which he pursued the means of obtaining excellence in every department, than to the ability which he showed in wielding it. Peter was tall in stature, and of a commanding but rude and ferocious countenance. His gestures were quick and impatient, his speech fluent and animated. He conversed with men neither like a barbarian, who makes no distinction between them, nor like a popular Prince, who seeks to please the world; but as a person who aimed at instruction. His character shows this important truth, that in order to become "great" it is a more difficult thing for a man to reform himself than to reform a kingdom, and to conquer his passions than to subdue the world.

### 3. TREATIES OF VIENNA AND HANOVER.

The court of Philip V. of Spain was thrown into the most bitter animosity against France by the sudden and unexpected arrival of the Infanta, who had been betrothed to Louis XV., but who was now sent back without apology or explanation. The imperious Queen was violent in her indignation against the Duke of Bourbon, the French prime minister. "That one-eyed scoundrel," she exclaimed, "has sent back my daughter because the King would not create the husband of his harlot a grandee of Spain." Philip with more dignity declared to the English minister that he was resolved to separate himself for ever from France, and desired to strengthen his amity with England; but George I. declined the overture, refusing to dissolve his connexion with France. Philip was accordingly deeply incensed against England, and he turned at length to the Emperor Charles. And now men heard with surprise that these old rivals, who had for so many years agitated Europe with their wars and intrigues, had in a few conferences terminated all differences, and concluded a treaty at Vienna, on the 30th of April, by which the succession of Don Carlos to Tuscany, Parma, and Placentia was recognized; while, on the other hand, the King of Spain guaranteed

the arrangement which the Emperor desired to make of his hereditary dominions. This was the famous "Pragmatic Sanction," for Charles VI., having no sons to succeed him, desired that the succession should, in default of male issue, descend to his daughter. But a secret treaty was at the same time negotiated through the Baron de Ripperda (a Dutchman, who had abandoned the Protestant religion, and entered the service of Spain), by which engagements were entered into of an offensive character, comprising the forcible recovery of Gibraltar, and the restoration of the exiled family, should England refuse to comply with the demands of the Vienna allies.

The nations of Europe had not as yet given in their consent to this favourite object of the Emperor, which was not as yet even confirmed and ratified by the Imperial diet, but it became an object of some anxiety to France and England, who thought it prudent to renew their friendship by the treaty of Hanover, concluded on the 3rd of September, to which Prussia and Holland afterwards acceded. The conditions of this treaty implied a mutual guarantee of the dominions possessed by the contracting parties, and their commercial rights, more particularly as they were affected by the privileges conceded by the treaty of Vienna to the Ostend Company, against which the British nation made loud complaints; and King George, justly alarmed at the secret proceedings at Madrid, resolved to take such precautions as were likely to defeat the pernicious designs of the new allies. An immediate declaration had been issued, on the 16th of August, by France, announcing a resolution to concur in proper measures for maintaining the British nation in the possession of Gibraltar; and the King, having obtained the co-operation of his Parliament, hastened to Hanover, that he might more clearly understand the proceedings of the Empire of Germany.

## 1726.

1. PREPARATIONS FOR WAR.—2. THREE BRITISH FLEETS ARE DESPATCHED TO THE BALTIC, MEDITERRANEAN, AND CARIBBEAN SEAS.—
3. GREAT BRITAIN AND FRANCE COLLECT THEIR FORCES.

### 1. PREPARATIONS FOR WAR.

Both Austria and Spain immediately made active preparations for war. A camp of about 20,000 men was formed at St. Roche, near Gibraltar, and all the necessaries for a siege were provided. Preparations were likewise made at sea; several men-of-war had been collected at Cadiz, and as many as could be purchased were obtained by that means. Great exertions were made in favour of the Pretender, both in England and on the Continent. Considerable pains were taken to acquire a preponderance in the north. Russia was gained to the Vienna treaty, and every endeavour was made to prevent Sweden from acceding to the treaty of Hanover. The Emperor

found means to detach the King of Prussia from the cause of his father-in-law, the King of England, although in his anger he had threatened "to drive that great grenadier from his throne." In order to counteract the private intrigues which were carried on, three powerful squadrons, or rather fleets, were equipped in England to look after British interests. The restless temper of the Spaniards, and their intrigues with the court of St. Petersburg, rendered it very apparent that the opportunity was only required to strike a blow that might lead to hostilities. The English administration, however pacifically it was inclined, was afraid to temporize any longer.

## 2. THREE BRITISH FLEETS ARE DESPATCHED TO THE BALTIC, MEDITERRANEAN, AND CARIBBEAN SEAS.

A strong fleet, consisting of twenty ships of the line, under the command of Sir Charles Wager, sailed, on the 17th of April, for the Baltic, and allying itself with a Danish squadron, threatened the Russian fleet in Revel, but no hostile act occurred. Another, of nine ships of the line, under Sir John Jennings, having troops on board, sailed on the 20th of July, to observe the Spanish coasts, but committed no act of hostility, and returned safely home on the 22nd of October. A third, of seven ships of the line, under the command of Vice-Admiral Hosier, sailed for the West Indies, to threaten the Spanish galleons in the harbour of Porto Bello; but Hosier and a considerable part of his fleet perished miserably of yellow fever, and other diseases of that climate, off the Spanish Main, and his ships were ruined by worms. This brave admiral, being restricted by his orders from obeying the dictates of his courage, seeing his best officers and men daily swept off by an outrageous distemper, and his ships exposed to inevitable destruction, is said to have died of a broken heart. The whole expedition was, however, a mean piratical scheme, to alarm the court of Spain for its expected treasures, even while a peace subsisted between the two nations. But whether the expedition was well or ill concerted at home, it was executed with wonderful courage and conduct by its unhappy commander, and his misfortunes and merit survived him longer than is usually the case, either with the greatest or most unhappy of mankind.

## 3. GREAT BRITAIN AND FRANCE COLLECT THEIR FORCES.

A subsidiary army of Danes, Swedes, and Hessians, to the number of 42,000, were taken into British pay, while the land forces voted for the United Kingdom amounted to 26,383 men; France also collected a numerous force on the frontiers of Spain and Germany. But in the midst of these affairs a change of ministry was made by Louis XV., very characteristic of the French state. The Duke de Bourbon was turned out by Cardinal Fleury, preceptor to the King. One day, on setting out for Rambouillet, the Duke attended his Majesty to his carriage, and was told with a gracious smile, "*Mon cousin, ne me faites pas attendre pour souper.*" In a minute afterwards he received his *congé*, by an order to retire to Chantilly. At the same time the favourite lady was exiled; and the Queen was

ordered to submit to the new minister in these terms, "*Je vous prie, Madame, et s'il se faut je vous ordonne,*" &c. If England is occasionally a little rough in her changes of administration, we need not take example in this respect from "*le peuple le plus galant et le plus poli de l'Europe.*"

## 1727.

1. THE SPANIARDS LAY SIEGE TO GIBRALTAR.—2. ALARM OF WAR IN HOLLAND.—3. TREATY SIGNED AT PARIS.—4. DEATH OF GEORGE I. OF GREAT BRITAIN.

## 1. THE SPANIARDS LAY SIEGE TO GIBRALTAR.

The trenches were opened before this fortress, on the 11th of February, by the Conde de las Torres, at the head of 20,000 men. Colonel Clayton, lieutenant-governor, had troops and necessaries sufficient for defence till supplies should arrive from England. Sir Charles Wager was forthwith despatched to the Mediterranean, with six ships of war and three regiments, and reached Gibraltar, after a prosperous voyage, on the 2nd of February. They arrived only just in time, and Sir Charles promptly sent off a detachment of bomb-ketches and galleys to enfilade the intrenchments. The place was well provided for a defence, and the old Earl of Portmore, who was governor, resolved, notwithstanding his advanced age, to repair to his government. He immediately embarked with a reinforcement from England, and arrived at Gibraltar in the beginning of April, where he landed with troops and a great quantity of ammunition, warlike stores, and twenty-four pieces of cannon. At the same time 500 men arrived from Minorca, so that the garrison amounted to 6000, plentifully supplied with every means of defence. The besiegers threw a great quantity of bombs into the place, which did but little damage, as they fell in the quarter which the Spanish population had quitted.

The siege was raised, however, on the 23rd of June, on articles, after it had lasted four months; during which time the Spaniards had lost a great number of men, while the garrison sustained very little damage.

## 2. ALARM OF WAR IN HOLLAND.

The States General of Holland, being apprehensive of an attempt upon their barrier in the Netherlands, desired that the King of Great Britain would hold in readiness the 10,000 auxiliaries stipulated for in the treaty. These were immediately prepared for embarkation, and the forces of England were augmented accordingly. An apprehension of an attack on Sweden, by the Czarina, made it expedient once again to send a squadron to the Baltic. Sir John Norris set sail from the Nore the latter end of April, but the Czarina dying on the



17th of May, he had no occasion to commit hostilities, and returned to England.

### 3. TREATY SIGNED AT PARIS.

Meanwhile the powers at variance, though extremely irritated against each other, were all equally averse to a war that might embroil all Europe. The King of France interposed his mediation, through his ambassador at Vienna, the Duke de Richelieu, and on the 31st of May preliminaries of peace were signed at Paris, when it was agreed that hostilities should immediately cease, and that the Ostend East India Company, called into being by the Emperor, and sanctioned by the King of Spain, and which formed the principal ground of quarrel, should be suspended for seven years; but the King of Spain would not ratify these conditions, nor relinquish any of his pretensions. England and Spain therefore still continued in a dubious state, between peace and war; or rather, a state of hostility existed between the two nations, for Sir Charles Wager continued to cruise on the coast of Spain; and whilst looking out, with seven ships, for the Spanish galleons, a French fleet, under the Marquis d'O, without any notification came out of harbour at the very moment of the negotiations for a suspension of arms, but no rupture occurred between the fleets. All differences were at length referred to a congress, to be held at Soissons.

### 4. DEATH OF GEORGE I. OF GREAT BRITAIN.

On the 18th of June died George I., King of Great Britain, a man of singular prudence and equanimity. His martial character would have been no less conspicuous than his civil virtues, had he not, for the good of his subjects, studiously declined all occasions of military glory since he assumed the British sceptre. He had acquired the reputation of a good officer in his younger days in Hungary, as well as in Germany and Flanders, where he had a command in the army of the allies; and he bore the character of a circumspect general. Personal courage was hereditary in all his family, and no less than three of his brothers fell gloriously in the field of battle, fighting against the enemies of their country: nor is this quality yet extinct in his descendants, as the hand-to-hand conflict of Inkermann can testify.

1728.

## 1. PACIFIC PROCEEDINGS.—2. FRENCH NAVAL EXPEDITION TO TRIPOLI.

### 1. PACIFIC PROCEEDINGS.

The congress opened at Soissons on the 19th of June, for determining the disputes between the powers of Europe, and the eyes of all Europe were fixed upon it. The contracting parties in the alliance of Hanover proposed a provisional treaty, but no answer was given

to the proposal by the courts of Vienna and Madrid. The fate of the Continent, therefore, continued in suspense. The British fleet lay inactive and rotting in the West Indies—the sailors perishing miserably, without their country daring to avenge their wrongs—while the Spanish cruisers committed depredations with impunity on the commerce of Britain. The court of Spain, at this juncture, seemed cold and indifferent with regard to a pacification with England, having renewed a good understanding with France, and strengthened its interests with its other neighbour, Portugal, by an alliance of marriage. It was at this congress that the plenipotentiaries of the several powers had the celebrated dispute about precedence, which resulted in their having a round table provided for them, which had neither top nor bottom, and as many doors to the apartment in which they assembled, as there were parties to the negotiations.

## 2. FRENCH NAVAL EXPEDITION TO TRIPOLI.

The state of Tripoli had given some umbrage to the French King, who accordingly despatched eleven frigates, under the Chef d'Escadron Grandpré, on the 19th of July, when this officer bombarded the town, and brought the barbarians to their senses.

1729.

## 1. THE TREATY OF SEVILLE.—2. DEATH AND CHARACTER OF MENSCHIKOFF, GENERALISSIMO OF THE RUSSIAN ARMIES.

### 1. THE TREATY OF SEVILLE.

A formidable British fleet was sent to the Mediterranean, under Sir Charles Wager, where it was joined by a Dutch fleet, under Admiral Sommeldyke, to awe the Spaniards, and bring them to a conclusion of peace.

At length, on the 9th of November of this year, after vexations and difficulties, the celebrated treaty of Seville was concluded, by which Spain joined in a defensive alliance with England, France, and Holland. In this treaty it was agreed that the King of Spain should send over 6000 men into Italy, to secure the rights of Don Carlos. The question of Gibraltar was passed over in silence, but whilst the treaty was in progress, the Spaniards were devising and constructing works, which they trusted would some day or other enable them to strike the English banner from its pride of place. They were erecting the memorable lines of San Roque, or the Carpi, which run right across the narrow sandy isthmus that connects the rock with the Andalusian Main. No remonstrances on the part of England could make the Spanish King desist. It was even said, that if the whole universe should fall on his Majesty to make him desist, he would rather be crushed by it than swerve from his purpose. The

English Government could not lay claim to the intervening ground, but pretended that it should be considered neutral, and not converted into the means of imprisoning and annoying the garrison of Gibraltar.

These lines, strengthened during repeated subsequent sieges, were the cause of infinite mischief to the English, but were at length blown up by the Spaniards themselves, to prevent the French from holding them to their prejudice in the course of the Peninsular war. Owing to the excavations which have been made in the rock, and the tremendous batteries which have been brought to bear upon the spot, it is scarcely possible now to re-erect them.

## 2. DEATH AND CHARACTER OF MENSCHIKOFF, GENERALISSIMO OF THE RUSSIAN ARMIES.

Alexander Menschikoff was a Prince of the Russian empire, deeply concerned in the wars of his time. He was of such low origin, as to be deprived in his youth of all instruction and of all chance of favour. It is even said that he was a sort of professional jester, and with some natural fun in him he was amusing the soldiers, to whom he was selling some little pies or pastry, when the Czar Peter, attracted by the merriment he occasioned by his remarks, first saw him. This keen observer of men remarked immediately that behind a ready wit there was a fund of good sense and frankness; and he was glad to avail himself of the services of a man who could amuse his darker hours, and enter with ardour into all his projects. Menschikoff, received into favour, took to studying languages, and was thus able to make himself useful in various situations. He soon made known to his master his peculiar talent for war, and the victory he won near the Kalisch was the first that had been gained by the Russians against the Swedes. They say that he conceived the plan of the campaign that ended at Pultowa, to which victory no one contributed so much as he did. His services obtained for him the title of Prince, with the rank of major-general in the army. His great fault was his avarice, which he gratified to such an extent that he was accused and condemned to a heavy fine for peculation by his royal master; who, however, remitted the fine, and took him again into favour. He, nevertheless, got together such a fortune that they said of him, he could go from Rigo in Livonia to Derbend in Persia without sleeping a single night off his property. He now acquired such influence, that though he narrowly escaped disgrace at the time of Peter's death, he secured the favour of Catharine, and afterwards of Peter II.; but in the intoxication of his fortunes, he offended those who supplanted him in the affections of his Sovereign, when he was deprived of all his honours and all his fortunes, and banished to the Ukraine. But he did not long survive his disgrace; dying in his place of banishment, in 1729, of a plethora,—there being no person about him, it is said, skillful enough to open a vein.

1731.

**1. DEATH OF THE DUKE OF PARMA.—2. ABDICATION OF THE KING OF SARDINIA.—3. WAR IN PERSIA.****1. DEATH OF THE DUKE OF PARMA.**

The Duke of Parma died in January, declaring by his will, in order to defeat the accession of Don Carlos, that his wife was with child, which was false. The Emperor nevertheless affected to believe it, and sent troops, under General Stampa, to secure possession of Parma and Placentia. The King of Spain called on his new allies, France and England, to support his rights, which they had secured to him by treaty: 6000 Spaniards were forthwith embarked at Barcelona, in September, and were transported to Leghorn. A British fleet, consisting of twenty-one sail of the line, under Sir Charles Wager, having joined company with the Spanish fleet, under the Marquis de Mari, the powers interposed their mediation so effectually, that the Emperor desisted from the prosecution of his design.

**2. ABDICATION OF THE KING OF SARDINIA.**

But the arrival of the imperialist troops in Italy alarmed Victor Amadeus, the King of Sardinia, who had been threatened with the vengeance of the Emperor, for some double-dealing in his negotiations with him and the King of Spain, in the previous year. He thought to draw himself out of the scrape by an abdication in favour of his son, Charles Emanuel. But father and son soon came to differences, and the young King caused a detachment of grenadiers to seize his father in his bed, and convey him as a prisoner to the castle of Rivoli. On hearing of this event, the French demanded the liberty of the grandfather of Louis XV.; but Cardinal Fleury, who had also, on some occasion, been deceived by Victor Amadeus, would not interfere. Nevertheless, the King was released soon after, and died at Moncalieri, on the 10th of November, the following year.

**3. WAR IN PERSIA.**

About this time, Kouli-Khan, otherwise Nadir Shah, appears in military story. Thamasp Shah, of Persia, having been nearly dispossessed of his authority by his neighbours, the Turks, Russians, and Affghans, placed Kouli at the head of his army, who, in 1729, delivered Persia from the yoke of all her conquerors. In this year he gained a victory over the Turks, near Erivan, and had laid siege to Bagdad, which he was pressing closely. The Porte, anxious for the fate of this town, sent orders to the Khan of the Crimea to march with his best troops to its relief. The Khan put his troops in motion without delay, and, without asking leave, took his line of march through some Russian territory. The Prince of Hesse-Homburg, who commanded here, sent orders to him to desist, else he would treat him as an enemy. The Khan, however, paid no regard to this

remonstrance, but passed on and crossed the river Teski. There were two defiles, through which his troops were now obliged to pass and one of these the Prince caused to be occupied by General Jerepkin. The Tartars fell with fury upon the Russians, sword in hand, but a brisk fire from small arms and field-pieces cooled their ardour a little; nevertheless, they obliged Jerepkin to give way; but, abandoning the victory they had almost in their hands, they fled in great confusion, leaving 1000 dead on the field of battle. The general was wounded, and at one time the Prince of Hesse-Homburg would have been taken prisoner but for the goodness of his horse. The Tartars were above 25,000 strong, and the Russians not more than 4000.

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### 1733.

1. DEATH OF AUGUSTUS II., KING OF POLAND.—2. STANISLAUS REPAIRS TO WARSAW, AND IS ELECTED KING.—3. THE RUSSIAN ARMY ENTERS POLAND. STANISLAUS TAKES REFUGE IN DANTZIC.—4. THE ELECTOR OF SAXONY ELECTED KING AT CRACOW.—5. A RUSSIAN ARMY BESIEGES DANTZIC.—6. FRANCE DECLARES FOR STANISLAUS.—7. SENDS AN ARMY INTO ITALY AND GERMANY.—8. SPAIN SENDS AN ARMY INTO ITALY

#### 1. DEATH OF AUGUSTUS II., KING OF POLAND.

Europe became anew involved in troubles by a vacancy on the throne of Poland. Augustus II., King of Poland and Elector of Saxony, died on the 1st of February at Warsaw, and his death opened a new and dreadful scene of war in Europe. The neighbouring powers were immediately in commotion to carry out that disgraceful struggle which went by the name of an election. The deceased King had very nearly anticipated the partition of Poland by half a century, for he was occupied with this design when surprised by death. He had opened his mind to the King of Prussia, who sent him the Marshal von Grumbkow to confer on the subject with him. Actuated by a mutual misgiving, the King and the Marshal contrived to make each other drunk, and this drunken bout finished the King and gave such a fit of sickness to Grumbkow that he never got the better of it. Augustus II. was the old opponent of Charles XII., to whom he had solemnly sworn to pretend no more to the rights of sovereignty in Poland, and had, at that time, given way to the election of Stanislaus Leczinaki; but after the defeat of Charles at Pultowa, he again succeeded in expelling his rival. On this occasion, he thought proper to publish a long manifesto to justify his conduct; and asking a friend one day what he thought of it, the Polish gentleman replied, "Nothing can be more ridiculous; you ought to have said simply—seeing that the King of Sweden has been defeated at Pultowa, I have reascended the throne." Stanislaus, however, still lived, and by a strange combination of cir-

cumstances, his daughter had in the interim become the wife of young Louis XV., and was now Queen of France. The King of France, therefore, supported the pretensions of his father-in-law, and the Marquis de Monti, ambassador from France at Warsaw, exerted himself so successfully that he soon gained over the Primate and a majority of the Catholic diet to the interests of Stanislaus. The Emperor, the Czarina, and the King of Prussia espoused the interests of the new Elector of Saxony, son to the late King. The Imperial and Russian troops marched therefore to the frontiers of Poland; and the Saxon Prince, and many of the noble electors of Poland repaired to the Russian camp. France had for a long time ceased to have any connexion with Poland, and being totally unacquainted with the state of affairs in that country, was not prepared with the means of making any great effort.

## 2. STANISLAUS REPAIRS TO WARSAW, AND IS ELECTED KING.

Stanislaus, who was residing in France, instantly set out for his native country, and travelling in disguise through Germany, attended by only one officer, reached the house of the French ambassador at Warsaw in safety. He concealed himself till the day of election, when he presented himself to the Poles, and was received with acclamations. The Primate proceeded to the election, and 60,000 suffrages recalled Stanislaus to the throne. The Russian General Lacy, nevertheless, entered Poland at the head of 50,000 men, and 10,000 Poles, under Prince Wiesznowiecki, joined the Russian army, which immediately advanced by speedy marches upon Warsaw.

## 3. THE RUSSIAN ARMY ENTERS POLAND. STANISLAUS TAKES REFUGE IN DANTZIC.

In a brief space of time the whole of the Lithuanian provinces were occupied by the Muscovites, and Stanislaus was compelled to fly with the Primate and Count de Monti, the French ambassador and shut himself up in Dantzic, where he had been assured by the French King that a French fleet should come to his assistance. The Palatine of Kiow remained in command at Warsaw, in the interest of Stanislaus, and attacked the Saxon palace, which surrendered, and was plundered, together with the houses belonging to the grandees who had declared for Augustus.

## 4. THE ELECTOR OF SAXONY ELECTED KING AT CRACOW.

The Poles who were in favour of the Elector, finding it impracticable to pass the Vistula before the expiration of the time fixed for the session of the diet, assembled at Cracow, where, on the 6th of October, they elected and proclaimed him King, under the title of Augustus III. They afterwards got possession of Warsaw, and in their turn plundered the palace and houses belonging to the opposite party.

### 5. A RUSSIAN ARMY BESIEGES DANTZIC

A confederate army of 60,000 Russians, Saxons, and Polish artisans, under the command of Count Munnich, now laid siege to Stanislaus in Dantzic. The defence was heroic and long; 8000 are said to have fallen in one assault, and they still point out a place, which they call the grave of the Russians. On the 24th of May a French fleet consisting of sixteen sail arrived and landed the three French regiments of Blaisois, Perigord, and La Marche, under the command of De la Motte Porouse, but they came too late and in too small a number to force the Russians to raise the siege. Stanislaus felt the mortification of receiving such a beggarly assistance from his mighty son-in-law, as did the ambassador from France himself. On the 27th the French troops marched out of their camp and signalled to the town to assist their attack by a sally. This they did with a strong detachment, but the Russian intrenchments were too strong for them. Jealous for his nation, Count Plelo, the French King's ambassador at Copenhagen, put himself forward at the head of this small band of his countrymen. The gallant leader fell pierced with balls, and the rest, after a stout resistance, were made prisoners.

### 6. FRANCE DECLARES FOR STANISLAUS.

Notwithstanding the pacific policy of Fleury, the French were determined to take a vigorous part in the contest. The Queen was beloved by every one in France, except the Cardinal, who manifested towards her and her father the greatest indifference. Fleury was however, so besieged by the old Marshal Villars, still impatient for glory, by the ambitious De Belle-Isle and De Noailles burning for distinction, and by Berwick, who was tired to death by his long inactivity, that the French King ordered his armies to take the field in the interest of Stanislaus. The Duke de Berwick, accordingly, passed the Rhine in October, and undertook the siege of Fort Kehl, which in the month of December surrendered on capitulation. During these transactions the French King concluded a treaty with Spain and Sardinia, who agreed to declare war against the Emperor, and to join a body of French forces, to be commanded by the veteran Marshal de Villars.

### 7. SENDS AN ARMY INTO ITALY AND GERMANY.

The Emperor, dreading the effects of such a powerful confederacy against him, offered to compromise all differences, but the Kings of France, Spain, and Sardinia had now formed an alliance, and declared that his advances were too late. On the 12th of October the French troops began their march to pass the Alps, and joined the Sardinian troops in the neighbourhood of Vigevano on the 29th. They immediately advanced to Pavia, which they occupied, and then reduced the important fortress of Pizzighitone in the beginning of December. Cremona, Fregga, and Lecco followed, and the confederated army then marched to Milan, of which they likewise took

possession. They afterwards obtained possession of Guastalla, under pretence of guarding it for the Prince from the Imperialists.

#### 8. SPAIN SENDS AN ARMY INTO ITALY.

Louis XV. found the court of Madrid also quite ready to join in a war against the Emperor, from a desire to secure for Don Carlos, now Duke of Parma, a son to the Queen, the throne of Naples, which was weakly defended. The British minister, Walpole, wisely endeavoured to prevent the firing of the first cannon, but his efforts were unsuccessful. Spain detached a powerful armament to Italy, where they invested the fortress of Aulæ, which they obliged to capitulate in a few days. The Spanish forces were directed by the Count de Montemar, and consisted of 16,000 foot and 4000 horse, with a proper amount of artillery, under the supreme command of the Infante Duke of Parma. At the same time a powerful French and Spanish fleet, under the Count de Clavijo, domineered in the Italian seas.

### 1734.

1. DANTZIC SURRENDERS AND STANISLAUS ESCAPES.—2. WAR ON THE RHINE.—3. THE DUKE DE BERWICK KILLED AT PHILIPPSBURG. HIS MILITARY CHARACTER.—4. WAR ON THE RHINE CONTINUED.—5. WAR IN ITALY.—6. DEATH AND MILITARY CHARACTER OF MARSHAL VILLARS.—7. BATTLE OF PARMA.—8. DEATH AND MILITARY CHARACTER OF COUNT DE MERCY.—9. BATTLE OF GUASTALLA.—10. WAR IN PERSIA.

#### 1. DANTZIC SURRENDERS AND STANISLAUS ESCAPES.

The garrison of Dantzic still made an obstinate resistance. On the 11th of May another reinforcement of 1500 men were landed from two French ships of war and some transports, under Fort Weichselmünde, but the garrison was so much in want of provisions that they were not admitted, and were, therefore, re-embarked, and sailed back to Copenhagen. Afterwards they were landed in the same place, and attacked the Russian intrenchments, in order to force their way into the city. They were repulsed in this attempt, but retired in good order. At length the Russian fleet arrived, under the command of Admiral Gordon, and the siege was carried on with increased fury. Fort Weichselmünde surrendered, and the French troops having capitulated, were embarked in Russian ships to be conveyed to a port in the Baltic. The Russians stipulated, as a preliminary to all terms of capitulation, that Stanislaus should be delivered up to them. Monti, the French ambassador, recommended him to try to escape *en paysan*; and it is related as an evidence of the cheerfulness of the King's character, that when he had put on his disguise he came to the ambassador with great gravity to say, 'J'ai oublié une chose essentielle dans mon déguisement : c'est mon



cordon bleu." General Steinflicht, also disguised, accompanied him. They had to pass a country inundated by the waters of the Vistula, which they had great difficulty in crossing. They had to sleep in the marshes, and remain for hours behind hedges and in barns ; but at length they reached the town of Marienwerder in the Prussian territories. The city of Dantzic on the 9th of July submitted to the dominion of Augustus, and was condemned to defray the expences of the Russian expedition to its general, the Count de Münnich.

## 2. WAR ON THE RHINE.

In the month of April the French army passed the Rhine. Marshal Berwick had under his command the Duke de Noailles, the Count de Belle-Isle, the Marquis d'Asfeldt, the Count Maurice de Saxe, the Duke de Richelieu, and the Prince de Tingri, with 100,000 men in the best order. A corps of 15,000 men, commanded by the Duke de Noailles and Count de Saxe, attacked the lines of Esslingen, defended by 15,000 Austrians. The French soldiers entered the works, and then Berwick brought down his army and deployed them in the plain ; on which the Austrians immediately decamped in good order, and joined Prince Eugene, who is related to have heard of this reverse, at which he was not present, with great coolness. "*Laissez faire Messieurs les Français,*" said he, "I have never had any opinion of intrenchments, they are only made for cowards." The Count de Belle-Isle besieged and took Traerbach, and was sent thence with a force to reduce the electorate of Treves, whilst Berwick, at the head of 60,000 men, invested Philippsburg, and opened the trenches before it on the night of the 1st of June. Prince Eugene, with 35,000, did not dare to oppose such a force, but was obliged to remain in the camp at Heilbronn, waiting for the troops of the Empire.

## 3. THE DUKE DE BERWICK KILLED AT PHILIPPSBURG. HIS MILITARY CHARACTER.

On the 12th of June the Duke de Berwick, in visiting the trenches, was killed by a cannon ball, thus terminating a brilliant and glorious career, worthy of the nephew of the illustrious Marlborough. The command of the French army was then divided between the Duke de Noailles and the Marquis d'Asfeldt, one of the most distinguished engineers of the age, who carried on the operations of the siege with equal vigour and capacity.

An Englishman by birth, both on the side of father and mother, though "not got betwixt the lawful sheets," the Duke de Berwick may almost be called a Frenchman, for he was born at Moulins, 1670, and was sent to be educated at Juilly at the age of seven years. He early signalized himself in arms, having first seen service in the army of the Empire at the siege of Buda, when sixteen years of age. After the English revolution of 1688 he was constantly in the service of the French King, and was made a marshal of France in 1706. In the war of the Succession he acquired great reputation at the head of the armies in Spain. He conducted the war on which the fate of the Bourbon monarchy depended with a skill and circumspection

equal to the magnitude of the danger, and on the 25th of April, 1707, gained the stupendous victory of Almanza, almost as disastrous to the allies as that of Blenheim had been to the French. He was subsequently entrusted by the French Government with a series of important commands, and showed himself upon all occasions worthy of the confidence reposed in him. No general ever had the *coup d'œil* quicker or more accurate ; whether in battle, to discover the blunders of an enemy, and make those decisive movements that carry victory with them, or in a campaign, to observe and take advantage of positions on which the success of the whole depends. It was his destiny to be always opposed to his nearest relations in his various commands ; sometimes against his uncle, the Duke of Marlborough, sometimes against his brother, the Chevalier de St. George ; and he fought for Philip V., in the interest of Louis XIV., and against the same Monarch in the interest of the Regent Duke of Orleans. His manners were cold, thoughtful, and severe. He never spoke ill of any one, but freely bestowed praise upon, or withheld it from, those who he thought deserved it. Montesquieu regards the Duke de Berwick as the very impersonation of a perfect man. He says of him, "No man ever knew better how to avoid excesses of every kind, even on the side of the snares of virtue ;" and he sums up his character thus : "I have seen at a distance, in the books of Plutarch, what great men were ; in him I behold at a nearer view what they are."

#### 4. WAR ON THE RHINE CONTINUED.

Prince Eugene having now united the different reinforcements he expected, marched towards the French lines, but found them so strong that he would not hazard an attack ; and such were the precautions taken for their defence, that with all his military talents he could not relieve the besieged in Philippsburg, where the governor with a strong garrison made a stout resistance. He was surrounded on this occasion by the most distinguished young Princes of Germany, among whom was the young Prince Royal of Prussia, aged twenty-one, afterwards Frederick II., who came to assist at a campaign, from which much was expected. These young aspirants for military glory were earnest with Prince Eugene to allow them to attack the French lines, and tried to persuade him that some points might be forced, but the old and experienced warrior calmly reconnoitred the spot named, and convinced them of the difficulty of overcoming them. On this occasion he himself remarks, "I always make a reconnoissance in person ; for there are two things I never omit—first, not to trust the eyes of another when I can use my own, and second, always to have 'un crayon en poche pour écrire l'ordre que je donne.'" He kept up a hot fire upon the besiegers, while the garrison kept them continually alive with sorties, and a well-directed artillery. To add to the French troubles the Rhine overflowed, the trenches were filled with water, and the soldiers were ankle-deep in it, so that they were obliged to make their reliefs "en bateaux." Nevertheless, with characteristic cheerfulness, they main-

tained a succession of fêtes and pleasures, the Duke de Grammont distributed 100,000 livres, and others of the *grandeess* did the like to encourage them. A curious incident occurred in one of their orgies. The Duke de Richelieu was insulted by the Prince de Lixen, and they immediately repaired to the trenches, not to give their blood to their country, as they might and ought to have done, but to fight out their quarrel in the sight of soldiers fighting for their country. In this encounter De Lixen was killed.

At length General Wutgenau, the governor, capitulated, after having made a noble defence, and obtained the most honourable conditions. Prince Eugene retired to Bruchsal, but the French in their turn did not dare to attack Eugene in his intrenchments. D'Asfeldt and Noailles, both in command, and both now created Marshals, quarrelled, and the cabinet at Versailles was at its wit's end to reconcile them. At one moment Mayence was threatened, but Prince Eugene obliged them to desist. At another time an attempt was made to penetrate into Suabia, by the Black Forest, but Prince Eugene was found unassailable in all the passes that penetrate in that direction, and the campaign ended in October.

#### 5. WAR IN ITALY.

The Imperial arms were not successful in Italy. The campaign was hot and bloody. Austria had been fully warned of the designs of Spain upon Naples, but, nevertheless, had not at this time 10,000 men in the whole of Italy, and Naples was left entirely to the protection of the militia and the garrisons; moreover there had been much corruption at work with the gold of the New World, so that there was very little love for the Germans in this country. Don Carlos was little more than seventeen years of age, but was active, ambitious, and not without ability—with a very advantageous person and an excellent manner and address. He now declared himself of age, and although the Duke de Montemar was in command for his father, he assumed the title of *generalissimo* of the Spanish army in Italy. He began his march for Naples in February, at the head of the Spanish forces, consisting of 16,000 foot and 5000 horse, having published a manifesto, declaring he was sent by his father to relieve the kingdom of Naples from the oppression, harshness, and avarice of the Germans. He avoided the city of Rome at the earnest prayer of the Pope (who, nevertheless, encouraged and favoured the enterprise), but taking the road of Valmontone and Frosinone, he entered Naples amidst the acclamations of the people. The Count de Visconti, the German viceroy, finding himself unable to cope with the invaders, thought proper to retire, after having thrown succours into Gaeta and Capua, but began to assemble the militia and to collect troops, in order to form a camp at Barletta. The Duke de Montemar marched with a body of forces against this general, and obtained over him a complete victory at Bitonto, in Apulia, on the 28th of May; when the Imperialists were routed and a great number of principal officers taken prisoners. In this action the militia, of which the army was principally composed, ran

away, and left the Austrian officers to fight like common soldiers, but though their efforts were most glorious they were useless. Overcome by numbers they were forced to lay down their arms. Don Carlos being proclaimed and acknowledged King of Naples, created the Count de Montemar, Duke of Bitonto. At the same time a strong Spanish squadron, under Count Clavijo, with troops on board, sailed along the coast from Leghorn to the Isle of Elba, and made for the islands of Ischia and Procida, which, being left by the Austrians wholly without defence, passed under the obedience of the fortunate Infante. The strong fortress of Passaro, in the Abruzzo, capitulated; and the stronger fortress of Gaeta surrendered in the month of August, if not without firing a gun, almost without losing a man. Count Traun, however, kept the flag of the Emperor flying a little longer over the walls of Capua, which did not surrender till the month of November.

The Island of Sicily, which had been so recently won from Spain for the Emperor Charles by the Austrian army and the British fleet, made even less resistance than the continental kingdom. About 20,000 troops were landed in the road of Solento, under the command of the new Duke of Bitonto, who being favoured by the natives, proceeded in his conquests with great rapidity. The people acknowledged Don Carlos as their Sovereign, took arms in support of his government, and Don Carlos remained undisputed master of the kingdom of the Two Sicilies, with the exception of the towns of Messina, Syracuse, and Trapani.

The Austrian army, north of the Apennines, under the command of the Count de Mercy, made a resistance more worthy of their ancient renown in the north, but they were hard pressed in Lombardy by the united forces of France and Piedmont, commanded by the King of Sardinia and the veteran Marshal Duke de Villars. This fine old soldier, at the age of eighty-four, was the idol of all the ladies of the French capital. The Queen of France sent him a sword and a ribbon gage for his hat. The Queen of Spain had him waylaid at Lyons by a messenger to attach another for herself, and the Queen of Sardinia attached a third with her own hand. "Voilà," said he, "mon chapeau orné d'un vol de reines." In the month of January the confederates, at the head of an army composed of fifty-two battalions and fifty-seven squadrons, overran in three months the whole of the Milanese, and undertook the siege of Tortona, which they reduced, together with Pizzighione and Cremona. They even advanced to Milan, which opened its gates, while the troops of the Emperor began to pour in great numbers into the Mantuan. In the beginning of May Count de Mercy passed the Po in the face of the confederates, notwithstanding all the skill of Villars, and took the Castle of Colorno. The old Marshal was indignant at this disgrace, and, whilst riding with the King, accompanied by their guard, they met a body of some 400 Austrians. The King was desirous of retiring, but Villars, perhaps to punish his Majesty's faint-heartedness, in the spirit of his best days, charged the enemy with such impetuosity that he dispersed

them and took some prisoners. It was his last exploit : fatigued and chagrined, he was shortly after taken ill and left the army. He retired to Turin, where he died, the last of a generation of warriors such as Europe had never known.

#### 6. DEATH AND MILITARY CHARACTER OF MARSHAL VILLARS.

Marshal Villars was born in 1653. After much distinguished service, he was made lieutenant-general in 1698. In 1702 he obtained a complete victory over the Prince of Baden, at Friedlingen, and this triumph obtained for him the bâton of Marshal of France. In 1703 he gained, in concert with the Elector of Bavaria, the battle of Höchstädt, over the Imperial general, Count Styrum ; but he and the Elector having disagreed, he was sent away to appease some religious enthusiasts in the Cevennes, who had been driven to arms by oppression. His conduct in this unchronicled war was such as to endear his memory to every lover of humanity and religious liberty. He moderated his haughty carriage towards these poor people, and won them to order, as much by prudence as by force. In 1705—8 he was continually at the head of one or other of the French armies, and almost always eminently successful. On one occasion he was sent for by the King, in haste, and when he had arrived at Versailles and made his bow to Louis XIV., the Monarch said, “ Je n’ai pas le tems de vous parler, mais je vous fais duc.” In 1709 he had the command in Flanders, and lost the battle of Malplaquet to Marlborough, but declared that, had it not been for his wound, which forced him from the battle-field, he would never have yielded the day. In 1711 he thought to nonplus the Duke of Marlborough in the lines of Bouchain, but failed most signally. Villars’ conduct, on this occasion, was much questioned. He had proudly asserted, by a letter to the court, that he would bring the Duke to a *ne plus ultra*; and when the wondrous evolutions of that great captain had brought the allies within the lines, he sent a courier to announce his intention to give battle ; but, notwithstanding all the taunts and remonstrances of his army, he did not venture upon it, and it is said, “ L’armée en fureur contre lui coucha en bataille.”

In 1712 he defeated Prince Eugene at Denain, but after the peace of Utrecht (the Emperor having refused to be comprehended in it) the two opposing generals, who had been the greatest personal friends from their youth upwards, made together, in 1711, the treaty of Radstädt, between the Empire and France. Eugene relates a “ mot ” of the Marshal, which he deemed deserving of being remembered. “ Our enemies are never with us in our campaigns. Yours are at Vienna and mine at Paris.” For the next eighteen years Villars was exclusively engaged in state affairs. He was now at the height of his fortune :—a marshal of France, a duke and peer, governor of Provence, a grandee of Spain, a knight of the Order of the Golden Fleece, and a member of the Council. Nothing seemed wanting to gratify ambition. This continued till 1732, when the war breaking out again with the Emperor, Villars was sent to Italy, with the title of General of the camps and armies

of the King, an office which had been dormant since Turenne, and at the age of eighty he mounted his charger for a campaign in the Milanese. He took the field, but increasing debility would not allow him to make more than one campaign, and on his way back to France he was obliged to stop at Turin. Here he took to his bed, and endured great suffering. In the midst of his agonies they brought him word that the Duke de Berwick had been killed by a cannon-ball, in the trenches at Philippsburg. "*Cet homme là,*" said he, "*a toujours été plus heureux que moi.*" He closed his life on the 17th of June, 1735, in the very chamber (as it is said) in which he was born eighty-four years before, when his father was the ambassador of France, at Turin.

### 7. BATTLE OF PARMA.

After the retirement of Marshal Villars, the King of Sardinia also left the army, and the command of the confederate forces devolved on the Maréchal de Coigny. They were now posted at Sanguigna. The Imperialists were at Sorbolo, and the Count de Mercy moved towards San Prospero, in order to threaten Parma, when, on the 29th of June, the two armies came in presence of each other, within a league of that city, and De Coigny made a disposition for an engagement. The Imperialist general, as fiery and imprudent as ever, began the attack with great impetuosity, and charging at the head of his troops, was killed soon after the battle began. The Austrian general, De la Tour, was severely wounded. The Prince of Würtemberg now assumed the command, and fought with great obstinacy, from eleven in the forenoon till four in the afternoon, when the Imperialists were obliged to retire towards Monte Chiarugolo, leaving 5000 men dead on the field of battle. The loss of the confederates was very considerable, being reckoned at 4000 men, including 1000 officers. They reaped no solid fruits from this victory, called by some the battle of Parma, and by others that of La Crocetta. It is said that 400,000 musket-balls were fired in this engagement.

### 8. DEATH AND MILITARY CHARACTER OF COUNT DE MERCY.

The Count de Mercy was a native of Lorraine, and general of the Imperial army. He was a man of a tall, graceful presence, with a very soldierlike appearance, except that he was short-sighted almost to purblindness. He had great strength, both of body and mind, and was indefatigable in the use of both. He was full of fire, and his conversation possessed both wit and humour. He had an insatiable thirst for glory, and was seconded by a bold and resolute temper, always leading his troops himself, and seemed to have quite a passion for fighting. He was seldom in any action in which he was not wounded, and was not esteemed a fortunate officer. He despised an enemy too much, was too impatient to engage, and was so careless as to the sacrifice of his men, to obtain any purpose, that this opinion of him made his troops uneasy under his command, from fear of being exposed to unnecessary slaughter. Upon the whole, he had great

parts, and great experience, and would have made a great general had he been gifted with a cooler temper, and greater power of self-command.

### 9. BATTLE OF GUASTALLA.

The Imperialist forces retreated, after the affair of Parma, to Reggio, and from thence moved to the plains of Carpi, on the right of the Secchia, where they received some reinforcements; but the confederates remained for two months perfectly quiet. General Count Königsegg, an able tactician, came in the mean time to command the Imperialists, and re-established order and confidence. His first step was to take post at Quingentole, by which he secured Mirandola, then threatened with a siege. On the 15th of September he directed the Prince of Württemberg to pass the Secchia by a ford that was not guarded, and attack the quarters of the Marshal de Broglie, who was taken so much by surprise, that it was with great difficulty he escaped in his shirt. The French retired with such precipitation, that they left all their baggage, and 4000 men, behind them. The ridicule and disgrace of this affair rankled in the French camp, and they thirsted for a reprisal. They were posted at Guastalla, where, on the 19th, they were vigorously attacked by the Imperialist cavalry, at ten in the morning, and a great engagement ensued. Königsegg made several desperate efforts to break the French cavalry, upon which, however, he could make no impression. His horse were twice repulsed in this attack. The infantry, on either side, fought with uncommon ardour for eight hours, when it was necessary for both armies to suspend the action, in order to carry off the wounded, the numbers of which were frightful, while the field was covered with the dead. At length, at ten at night, the Imperialist general retreated, after having lost above 5000 men, including the Prince of Württemberg, who was killed. The Generals Valparcize and Colminero, with many other officers of distinction, together with a great number of wounded, five guns, and some standards, were taken; nor was the damage sustained by the French greatly inferior to that of the Germans. Königsegg now retired to Luzzara, re-passed the Po, and took post on the dykes of the Oglio, in a very strong position.

Charles Emanuel, notwithstanding the accusations against his courage in the beginning of the campaign, exhibited this day a conduct worthy of his gallant ancestry. He united the bravery of a grenadier to the talents of a great general, and to him was mainly attributed the victory. He commanded the centre of the confederate army. Marshal de Broglie was desirous of counterbalancing the ridicule attached to his surprise on the 15th, and manœuvred his troops like one who had been brought up in the school of Villars. The cavalry had been commanded by the Count de Chatillon, and the Duke d'Harcourt; the latter of whom repulsed the attack of the German cavalry, at the head of the French force, sabre in hand.

The confederate army now crossed the Oglio, and the Marquis de Maillebois was detached to attack Mirandola, but Königsegg obliged

him to raise the siege ; so that, notwithstanding their victories, they could neither prevent the Imperialists from establishing their position, nor attempt any thing to their detriment, but were obliged to sit down for the winter, under the walls of Cremona, and await fresh reinforcements from Don Carlos.

#### 10. WAR IN PERSIA.

It was in the course of the year 1734 that the court of St. Petersburg once more renewed its treaty of alliance with Kouli-Khan, who engaged not to make a peace with the Porte without securing the interests of Russia. The Empress Anne tried as much as possible to establish a close connexion and friendship with that potentate, but the Khan did not keep faith with her. He made peace with the Porte at the very time when Russia was in the thickest of the war with the Turks.

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### 1735.

1. MISUNDERSTANDING BETWEEN SPAIN AND PORTUGAL. A BRITISH FLEET SENT TO LISBON.—2. WAR IN POLAND.—3 WAR IN ITALY.—4. PEACE BETWEEN FRANCE AND GERMANY, IN WHICH ALL EUROPE CONCURS.—5. DEATH AND MILITARY CHARACTER OF THE EARL OF PETERBOROUGH.—6. MILITARY CHARACTER OF THE SPANISH GENERAL DE LEDE.

#### 1. MISUNDERSTANDING BETWEEN SPAIN AND PORTUGAL. A BRITISH FLEET SENT TO LISBON.

Whilst avoiding a war for the Emperor, England had now some wish to go into one for her ally, the King of Portugal. An insignificant quarrel had occurred at Madrid, owing to the Portuguese ambassador having allowed his servants to rescue a criminal from the officers of justice ; and, in consequence, the Spanish King ordered all the servants concerned in the rescue to be carried to prison under circumstances of rigour and disgrace. The Portuguese King ordered reprisals to be made upon the servants of the Spanish ambassador in Lisbon. The two ministers accordingly withdrew abruptly to their respective courts. The King of Spain now assembled a body of troops on the frontiers of Portugal, and the Portuguese King had recourse to the assistance of the King of Great Britain. Sir John Norris was ordered immediately to sail from Spithead, with a squadron of twenty-eight ships of war, to protect the Portuguese against the Spaniards, taking care, however, to represent to the Portuguese the expediency and advantage of moderation. So strong an English fleet riding in the Tagus produced an immediate effect at Madrid, where also the British resident, Mr. Keene, intimated to his Catholic Majesty, that England meant to, and assuredly would, protect her faithful ally. The quarrel was, therefore, soon made up, without the logic of cannon-ball. King Philip, however, whilst negotiating in



Europe, caused an attack to be made upon the Portuguese settlements of Sacramento, in America, and drove them across the frontier of the Rio de la Plata, which the King of Portugal did not again recover.

## 2. WAR IN POLAND.

The affairs of Poland became more and more unfavourable to the interests of Stanislaus, for although a great number of the Polish nobility engaged in a confederacy to support his claim, and made repeated efforts in his behalf, the Palatine of Kiow submitted to Augustus; and even his brother, the Primate, after having sustained a long imprisonment and many extraordinary hardships, was obliged to acknowledge that Prince his Sovereign.

## 3. WAR IN ITALY.

In Italy the arms of the confederates still continued to prosper. Marshal de Broglie commanded the French armies in the Milanese, fortified the passes, and rendered the country inaccessible to the Imperialist troops, though much want of discipline and sickness prevailed in his army; while Count Königsegg, who commanded the Austrians, was forced to abandon all the Imperial territories in Italy, except Mantua, which neither France nor Sardinia desired to see pass into the hands of Spain. The Emperor tried every means to rouse the British and Dutch to his assistance: at one time even threatening to retire from the Netherlands and cede that country to the French. He also implored succours from the Czarina, who at length sent a force of 30,000 men to his assistance.

## 4. PEACE BETWEEN FRANCE AND GERMANY, IN WHICH ALL EUROPE CONCURS.

Prince Eugene took the field, for the last time, in April, and established himself again at Bruchsal, where he was opposed to the French army under M. de Coigny; but he was hastily recalled to Vienna, the Emperor having adopted the hasty resolution of an accommodation with France.

The surrender of the garrison at Dantzic, and the success of Augustus in Poland, disposed the court of Versailles to a pacification, which was signed at Vienna on the 3rd of October. Nevertheless, the negotiations between Paris and Vienna were, after all, concluded without the concurrence or knowledge of Spain and Sardinia, and these powers refused to ratify the suspension of arms that had been proposed. Spain, irritated at not obtaining Parma and Tuscany, nor acquiring possession of Mantua, held out; but the French and Sardinian troops having quitted the camp of the Duke de Montemar, and Königsegg having recrossed the Po, the Spanish general, alarmed for the safety of Naples and Sicily, agreed to the suspension of arms and to the secret treaty of peace between the courts. This was signed in the month of October, and ultimately obtained the concurrence of the other powers.

By the articles of peace it was stipulated that France should re-

store all the conquests she had made in Germany; that the reversion of the dukedom of Tuscany<sup>1</sup> should be vested in the Duke of Lorraine, whose son was about to marry the Emperor's daughter, the heiress of the Emperor's states under the Pragmatic Sanction; and that Lorraine should be allotted to King Stanislaus, with the royal title, and, after his death, be united to the crown of France; also that Don Carlos should be acknowledged King of Naples and Sicily, the Emperor retaining the Milanese, the Mantuan, and Parma. The treaty further stipulated that the contracting powers should guarantee the Pragmatic Sanction, upon which the tranquillity of Europe, and the safety and greatness of the Emperor's daughter, depended.

##### 5. DEATH AND MILITARY CHARACTER OF THE EARL OF PETERBOROUGH.

Charles Mordaunt, Earl of Peterborough, died this year. He has not been named in these Annals for nearly a quarter of a century, when he quitted Spain and the cause of King Charles in disgust; nevertheless, he was a conspicuous person in his day. He was born in 1658. He appears to have had a predilection in favour of the naval service, having, in early youth, accompanied Sir John Narborough and Vice-Admiral Herbert to the Mediterranean, when they were engaged in continual contests with the piratical states of Barbary. On the 4th of June, 1680, he embarked, as a volunteer, with the Earl of Plymouth, for Africa, and distinguished himself very much at Tangier, at that time besieged by the Moors. In 1687 he entered the service of the Prince of Orange, and was appointed commander of a Dutch ship of war, mounting forty-eight guns, and called the "North Holland," and was sent as commodore of a squadron of Dutch ships to the West Indies. On his return to Europe he was admitted to the most secret councils of the Prince, being one of the few peers who came over with his highness to England; and, upon the descent, commanded a regiment, which he raised in the west in a few days. In 1692 he served a campaign in Flanders, under King William. He was not again called into service till 1705, when he was appointed, with Sir Cloudesly Shovel, first admiral, and then commander-in-chief of the splendid expedition sent to Spain, for the purpose of placing Charles of Austria on the throne of that kingdom. Taking the Archduke on board at Lisbon, he proceeded to Barcelona, which he secured with a handful of men, and his own personal prowess. Thus early did he exhibit that romantic and *paladin* character that distinguished him, when having forced the town to a capitulation, he entered it himself, alone, to quell the plundering and insubordination of his own troops, who had been admitted to certain posts, pending negotiations; and this done, he

<sup>1</sup> The last of the Medici, who was at this time Duke of Tuscany, viewed with some astonishment this arrangement, for he had taken no part in the war; but he was obliged to submit to the law of the strongest, and only desired to know whether they had got any more Princes without territories to whom they would desire to entail his duchy. He died two years afterwards.

quitted and left it in the hands of his enemy to finish the terms of surrender. In the intemperance of his character, he had no sooner placed King Charles in possession of his capital, than he quarrelled with him, and quitted him, because Stahremberg and the German counsellors of the Archduke refused to make him their leader. Some parts of his character resemble strongly that of Charles XII., and both are equally examples of those most valuable of military qualifications, energy and activity. Like Charles, he took walled towns with dragoons, and conquered kingdoms as fast as he could march through them. The rapidity of his movements was a by-word in his generation. Swift said of him—

“ In journeys he outrides the post;”

also

“ Flies like a squib from place to place,  
And travels not, but runs a race.”

He was, however, far before the Swedish Monarch in this, that he had an object in his restlessness, which was not only the effect of his temperament, but also the interest he took in the discussions and in the policy of the war with France. For, to the greatest personal courage and resolution, he added the arts and address of a negotiator and a statesman—a lively and penetrating genius, and a great extent of knowledge upon almost every subject of importance. He was a man of wit and of ready repartee in conversation. Being once surrounded and insulted by a mob, who took him for the Duke of Marlborough (at that moment out of favour with them), he extricated himself by asserting that he could produce two most convincing proofs that he was not the Duke of Marlborough; the first being that he had got only five guineas in his pocket; and the second, that they were much at their service. Such a method of recovering popularity has been rarely found to fail. He was never employed in any military service, except during his short but brilliant campaign in Spain, but he was sent as British ambassador on many occasions. In October, this year, he was cut for the stone, and determining neither to live nor die like any other mortal, he took coach immediately after this severe operation, and died a few days after, at the age of seventy-seven. “ He was one of those phenomena whom nature produces once in the revolution of centuries, to show to ordinary men what she can do in a mood of prodigality.”

#### 6. MILITARY CHARACTER OF THE SPANISH GENERAL DE LEDE.

The only Spanish general of any repute, that had appeared at this juncture, was the Marquis de Lede, who died about this time. He was a Fleming by birth, and nothing appears to be known of him until he commanded the armies of the King of Spain. He was mean and misshapen in stature, and not affable nor open in his disposition; but much esteemed for his judgment and prudence, and great military experience. He was exceedingly cautious and circumspect—sometimes, even to a fault; and was thus thought to have lost some opportunities of acting upon the Imperialists to an advantage.

Shut up as he was in Sicily, and cut off from receiving supplies of men, he showed great skill and wisdom in preserving his army, and maintained the honour of the arms of Spain with great reputation. After a difficult contest, he carried back to Spain a gallant army, in such fitness for service, that he was sent off again, almost immediately, on an expedition against the Moors in Africa, where he gained great distinction, but he is not heard of in any employment in the field later than 1726.

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### 1736.

1. DEATH AND MILITARY CHARACTER OF PRINCE EUGENE.—2. DEATH AND MILITARY CHARACTER OF ADMIRAL DUGUAY-TROUIN.—3. WAR BETWEEN RUSSIA AND TURKEY.—4. SIEGE OF AZOPH.—5. ENCOUNTER OF CAVALRY ON THE STEPPES.—6. LINES OF PELEKOP FORCED.—7. THE RUSSIANS QUIT THE CRIMEA.—8. AZOPH SURRENDERS.—9. WAR IN THE KUBAN.

#### 1. DEATH AND MILITARY CHARACTER OF PRINCE EUGENE.

This illustrious Prince died at Vienna on the 21st of April, 1736, in his seventy-third year, leaving behind him the character of being, with the exception of Marlborough, the greatest soldier of his age. He was one of those gay, frank, and open-hearted men, who are the especial favourites of soldiers, and indeed of men and women in general. He was united to Marlborough by the strictest friendship, nor does it appear that he entertained the slightest spark of jealousy of the superiority of his friend's acknowledged military genius, or of the applauses which, in consequence, fell in so much greater profusion on the head of his great contemporary. He had, indeed, his marks of superiority. He was esteemed a greater hero than Marlborough, and quite his equal in command, though not so consummate a general. The art of war with him was almost always that of sudden impulse: prodigal of his own blood, he was not sufficiently parsimonious of that of his soldiers; and he trusted more to the extraordinary gift of the *coup d'œil* that he possessed than to calculation and prudence—nevertheless he took much pains to learn the characters of the commanders opposed to him, and he showed much tact in availing himself of their most prominent faults. He was wounded thirteen times, and was, indeed, always too ready to cut the knot of a difficulty by a battle, and to act rather too much as a grenadier than as the general of an army. Prince Eugene was of a highly liberal spirit in treating the libels which were published against himself with dignified contempt, but could not conceal his indignation at the defamation which was so liberally heaped on his former colleague and illustrious friend. Bishop Burnet having explained to him a passage in one of the scurrilous pamphlets of the day, stating that Marlborough was "perhaps once fortunate," he replied, "It is the greatest commendation that can be given; for as

he was always successful, if he was only once fortunate, all his other successes were owing to his conduct." Yet in despite of his open-hearted character, he was rather fond of money, and in a continuous service of fifty years he amassed a fortune of very considerable extent, which he bequeathed to his niece. The Prince's figure was of moderate height, but well made. His face was disproportionately long, but lightened with bright dark eyes; but his mouth was habitually held a little open. He had an elegant mind, and was a collector of objects of science and art, and of a fine library. It was said that Louis XIV. had refused permission to Prince Eugene to enter the French army, in consequence of his mother, Olympia Mancini, having been implicated in the Brinvilliers empoisonments, but that some years later he offered to make him a Marshal of France, which he indignantly refused; and although born at Paris he had through life a rooted antipathy to the French people. Many sayings also of the Prince are recorded, which prove him to have been a man of superior intellect. He was a good administrator of military affairs, as well as an able commander; and the house of Austria was at a low ebb in that department, when he raised her fortune and her glory. Indeed, she very much fell back again in military prosperity when she lost Eugene, on whom the Emperor lavished a magnificent funeral. The Prince was wont to say of the three German Emperors whom he had served, that Leopold was a father to him, Joseph a brother, but Charles a master.

## 2. DEATH AND MILITARY CHARACTER OF ADMIRAL DUGUAY-TROUIN.

The father of this distinguished naval officer was a seafaring man, resident at St. Malo. When the war broke out, in 1689, the admiral, then a boy of fourteen, accompanied his father in the armed vessel "Trinity," 18, a sort of privateer, and this was the first service he witnessed, which he himself describes with some feeling for its discomfort in sea-sickness and maritime danger. A year or two later Duguay was himself put in command of a small craft of fourteen guns, which, hovering on the coast of Ireland, made a dash into the port of Limerick, where he took possession of Lord Clare's house, and burned some vessels lying on the soft sand near it, in spite of a detachment of the garrison, which was sent to protect them. In 1694 he had already obtained such success, that we find him in command of a royal frigate, the "Diligente," 40. In this he fell in with an English squadron, which out-manœuvred him, and getting between him and the French coast, obliged him to fight, and strike his flag to the "Monck," 60. He was carried into Plymouth, where, having been recognized as the commander of a privateer, he was made a close prisoner by an order from the British Admiralty. He escaped, however, by a romantic adventure, in which, of course, love and a woman had a part, and got back to France. Upon his return, the reputation of his bravery obtained for him, from Louis XIV., a sword of honour, which was accompanied by a complimentary letter from M. de Portchartain, the secretary of marine, who directed him to join, forthwith, the royal squadron, under the Marquis de

Nesmoud. In 1697 he received from the intendant at Brest the charge of three vessels, of from forty to twenty guns each, to look after a fleet of Dutch merchantmen, under Admiral de Wassenaer, whom he encountered ; but finding the convoy of too heavy metal, he kept in their wake till he met two French frigates of thirty guns each, with which he fell upon the convoy. The combat was severe, but ended in the capture of De Wassenaer and his three ships of war, and twelve merchantmen. On the breaking out of the war of the Succession he did considerable damage to the commerce of the allies, and resisted a Dutch squadron of superior force. In 1704, on board the "Jason," 54, he captured the British ship "Falmouth," of the same force, and in the following year the "Elizabeth," 72. In 1707 he and M. de Forbin, commanding a squadron of twelve vessels, encountered five British ships of war, of which they captured three, and burned one. But his crowning and most distinguished exploit was the capture of Rio de Janeiro in 1711.

On this, and indeed throughout his service, M. Duguay-Trouin displayed the greatest professional skill, united with the most consummate judgment and bravery, for which he was highly honoured by the King, and respected by the whole French nation. He was still a captain, and was only prevented from being made *chef d'escadre* by the jealousies of men of birth and influence, who would have been passed over by his promotion. But one of the last acts of favour shown him by Louis XIV. was in August, 1715, when, being at Versailles to pay his respects to the King, that Monarch personally conferred on him "*l'honneur de la cornette*" and a pension of 2000 livres. In 1728 the Regent Duke of Orleans made him "*lieutenant-general des armées navales*" and commander of the order of St. Louis. He raised his flag in command of a fleet in 1731 and 1733, but without any active service, and his health being much broken, he relinquished all further command, and died, 1736, in his sixty-fourth year.

### 3. WAR BETWEEN RUSSIA AND TURKEY.

During the summer of this year, a rupture happened between the Turks and the Russians. The Emperor offered his mediation between the Sultan and the Czarina, in conjunction with the maritime powers, who were all equally disposed to peace with the Emperor, who, especially for the sake of the inheritance of his daughter, emphatically desired it. But the Czarina objected that the Tartars of the Crimea had made incursions upon her frontiers, and that, on her complaint, she could obtain no satisfaction ; also, that a large body of Tartars had, by order of the Vizier, and in her despite, marched through the Russian provinces and committed great depredations. The Emperor, by a treaty, offensive and defensive, with Russia, was obliged to engage as a party in this war, although by this time all the belligerent powers had agreed to the preliminaries of peace concluded between the Emperor and France. The Russians, however, were determined on hostilities, believing that they thus carried out the policy of Peter I., who had himself projected the invasion of the

Crimea, and had already prepared, in his time, magazines of all sorts, on the Don, for military purposes. Preparations were therefore made, on both sides, for war. General Leontew had been sent forward into the Crimea the previous year, but it was autumn before he reached the Steppes, and the season being too late, he was obliged to return into the Ukraine towards the end of November, with his army in sad plight, having lost 9000 men. Leontew was tried for this failure by a court-martial, but justified himself. Negotiations had been opened with Kouli-Khan, who had engaged to unite his forces against their common enemy, but having obtained from Russia some artillery and engineers, he marched his forces against Turkey, from the side of Persia, and gained some advantages over the Ottoman troops on that side.

#### 4. THE SIEGE OF AZOPH.

Marshal Münnich was now appointed to the command of the troops. The plan for the campaign was to begin with the siege of Azoph. Münnich commenced operations in the month of March, having assembled six regiments of infantry and three of cavalry, together with 3000 Cossacks of the Don, at St. Anne, about eight leagues from Azoph. On the 27th Münnich passed the Don and began his march with so much precaution and silence that he arrived near Azoph, without having been perceived by the enemy; and he immediately attacked and carried by storm two castles on the river side without the loss of a single man. On the 3rd of April the Russians carried the fort of Lutick with little loss. He now gave over to Count Lacy the care of blockading and taking the town, and left the camp for the grand army that was formed on the Dnieper, where he arrived on the 18th, and found himself at the head of from 50,000 to 54,000 men.

#### 5. ENCOUNTER OF CAVALRY ON THE STEPPES.

On the 19th of May Münnich sent off five detachments, each composed of 400 dragoons and 150 Cossacks; and as the Steppe land was one vast unbroken plain, they had orders to march within sight of each other, so as to unite whenever the force of the opposing army should make it necessary. They had marched only about two leagues when they came up with a body of Nogay Tartars, whom they attacked and routed. They had gone about two leagues farther when General Spiegel, who commanded, was obliged to unite his detachments as quickly as he could, since he suddenly found himself in presence of about 20,000 men advancing upon him. Spiegel had just time to form square, ordering the front rank to dismount, when these attacked him with most horrid yells, and poured forth a flight of arrows. Münnich, apprised of the danger in which Spiegel was, put himself at the head of 3000 dragoons and 2000 Cossacks, and marched rapidly to his relief. As soon as the enemy perceived his approach, they retired with great precipitation, leaving 200 dead on the field. It was ascertained from the prisoners taken, that the Khan, with an army of 100,000 men, was encamped at twenty leagues

from the spot, and that the body that had retreated was under the command of the Kalga Sultan, or generalissimo of the Tartars of the Crimea. On the 26th the Russians were encamped on the side of the river Kalantschi, when, on a sudden, they were attacked and surrounded by these troops, but at the first shot fired from some field-pieces they all fled with precipitation to the lines of Perekop.

#### 6. LINES OF PEREKOP FORCED.

The Marshal determined to force these famous lines, and marching all night came upon them suddenly at break of day, to the astonishment of the Tartars, who had known nothing of his movements, and were astounded when they saw the Russian force formed up in six columns for the attack. These lines were extraordinary works, nearly two French leagues in extent from the Sea of Azoph to the Black Sea. There was but one entrance, and six towers of stone, mounted with cannon, flanked the approach. The ditch was twelve toises broad and seven deep, the height of the parapet seventy feet, and its thickness in proportion. The troops advanced boldly to the ditch, under the command of Manstein, but on arriving there, found it more deep and broad than they could have expected: nevertheless, they threw themselves into it and assisted one another to climb the parapet under an exceedingly brisk fire of the enemy. The Tartars now finding the affair serious, did not wait for the Russians to reach the top, but betook themselves to flight, leaving no impediment to the free passage of the lines.

On the 5th of June the Marshal advanced into the Crimea. The Tartars harassed them incessantly in the march, but scampered away immediately they were attacked. As they advanced they soon found water to fail. The natives, who fled from the villages, burned all the forage and spoiled the water of the wells. The absence of all water (for rain-water is the only resource of this country, and very scarce) caused the troops to suffer a good deal, and much disease ensued in consequence. On the 26th Münnich advanced upon Baktchi-Serai, and on the 27th they repulsed the enemy and entered the town. He had intended to proceed to Caffa, but his army was so reduced, that he resolved to return to Perekop, where he destroyed the lines, and on the 28th of August returned to the Ukraine.

#### 7. AZOPH SURRENDERS.

Count, now Marshal, Lacy commenced the siege of Azoph on the 15th of May. On the 19th Admiral Bredal, who had come down the Don with fifteen galleys and a great number of other vessels, arrived off Azoph. The Turkish fleet, under the Capudan Pacha, Dgiannon Conja, entered the Sea of Azoph to succour the place, but the mouth of the Don is so barred with sands and shoals, that neither fleet could get near each other. The works against the place continued by sap till the 13th of June. During this time the besieged made continual sallies, which were repulsed. The Marshal himself, in one of them, was nearly taken prisoner, and received a gun-shot wound in the thigh. On the 18th the usual accompaniment of a Turkish



siege took place. One of the largest powder magazines exploded, by which more than 100 houses were thrown down, and 300 men lost their lives. At midnight, on the 28th, the assault was given, and although two mines were sprung, the besiegers effected a lodgment, so that on the 29th of June the Pacha governor requested a capitulation, and Lacy, after leaving a garrison in the town, marched away to rejoin Münnich in the Ukraine. It was at this siege that the effects of the discipline which Münnich had established in the Russian armies were made curiously apparent. Sickness prevailed in the camp to a very great extent, occasioned by intemperance and a general disgust for the service. To remedy this evil the Marshal issued an order forbidding any one to be sick on pain of being buried alive!

### 8. WAR IN THE KUBAN.

The court of St. Petersburg, not content with having attacked the Porte on the side of the Crimea, and with the capture of Azoph, sent orders to Don-Du-Combo, a chief of the Calmucks, near Astrachan, to invade the Tartars of the Kuban in the beginning of April. These tribes retired as far as possible into the Steppe to avoid the attack of the Calmucks, but Don-Du-Combo and his son followed them and attacked their barricaded camp. The Tartars received him with equal valour, but after two hours' resistance, their defences were at length forced on every side, and all the men were massacred: none were spared but the women and children. The carnage was very great, and in the sequel the Kuban submitted to Russia.

The manner of marching observed by the Russians in these campaigns against the Turks was singular. As soon as the general had notice that the Turks were not far off, the army formed into one or more squares with the baggage in the midst. Such an order of march would not be practicable any where but in these large Steppes, where there are few defiles. In ten leagues of ground you will not find here a hillock to ascend, or a defile to go down, and there is no road to keep. The baggage requisite to be carried in these countries is most extensive. Sometimes fuel and water have to be conveyed from one encampment to another. Marshal Münnich's army never took the field without having 90,000 carriages in its train for an army of 80,000 men: the transport for six months' provision of flour alone required half that number.

The Turks and Tartars were not the enemies who in this campaign so foiled the Russians. Hunger, thirst, fatigue, and an insupportable heat were more fatal than the arms of the enemy. The Russian lost in the campaign was nearly 30,000 men. The south coast of the Crimea is one of the finest districts of Europe, but the northern part remains uncultivated for want of wood and water. For four or five leagues together there is not a bush nor a rivulet, and the soldiers were obliged to carry with them wood for their firing, and even an immense train of transports with large casks of water for their drink.

1737.

1. RUSSIAN SIEGE OF OCKZAKOW.—2. MARSHAL LACY ENTERS THE CRIMEA BY ARABAT.—3. THE RUSSIANS AGAIN QUIT THE CRIMEA.—4. THE TURKS BESIEGE OCKZAKOW.—5. RUSSIAN AND TURKISH NAVAL ACTION IN THE SEA OF AZOPH.—6. THE EMPEROR ENTERS INTO THE WAR AGAINST THE TURKS.—7. MILITARY CHARACTER OF MARSHAL STAHEMBURG.—8. MARSHAL SECKENDORF IN COMMAND OF THE AUSTRIANS.—9. THE IMPERIALISTS ARE WORSTED. SECKENDORF DISGRACED.

### 1. RUSSIAN SIEGE OF OCKZAKOW.

Marshal Münnich took the field towards the end of April, and found his army to consist of sixty-three battalions and 145 squadrons, which might be reckoned at 60,000 or 70,000 men. There were in the artillery train sixty-two guns of siege and eleven mortars, besides 165 field-pieces and sixteen howitzers. On the 10th of July they were within three leagues of Ockzakow, where they came to blows with some Turks of the garrison, who had sallied out, to the number of 15,000 men. On the 11th he began the siege between the river Dnieper and the Black Sea, and had the governor known what he was about at this time, and made a sally, he could have foiled the Russians, and forced them to retire; but a powder magazine blew up, which buried 6000 men in the ruins, and threw the whole garrison into consternation. Münnich chose this moment for an assault, and finding his troops unwilling to face the flames, he opened a battery upon his own soldiers—so that the place was at length carried by men who feared the enemy less than their own terrible general. It surrendered at discretion on the 13th of July.

### 2. MARSHAL LACY ENTERS THE CRIMEA BY ARABAT.

In the mean time Marshal Lacy advanced again into the Crimea with about 40,000 men. On the 28th of June, supported by a fleet in the Sea of Azoph, he crossed an arm of the sea by a bridge, and marched along the narrow strip of land that stretches as far as Arabat. The Khan, who never imagined the Russians would enter the country on that side, had posted himself with all his troops behind the lines of Perekop, which he had taken care to have repaired, and trusted to be enabled to dispute more successfully than had been done the year before. He now found them of no use, for Lacy was in full march for Arabat, without the loss of a single man. The Khan thought to rectify his mistake by posting himself with all diligence across the narrow spit of land formed by the Sea of Azoph on one side and the Putrid Sea on the other. As soon, however, as Lacy heard that the Khan had arrived at Arabat, he caused the Putrid Sea to be sounded, and found a means of crossing through it, to the astonishment of the Khan, who forthwith retreated to the

mountains. It was not the Khan alone who judged of this enterprise in marching along the spit of Arabat as a rash one. All the generals except Spiegel represented to Lacy that he ran the risk of seeing his whole army perish. The Marshal answered that there was danger in all military enterprises, but that he did not see more in this than in others. However, he begged their opinion as to what they thought best to be done. They unanimously replied, "To return with all possible speed." Upon which Lacy rejoined, that since the generals had a mind to return, he would have their passports made out accordingly, and called for his secretary to deliver them without delay. He even commanded a party of 200 dragoons to be their escort to the Ukraine, there to wait his return. It was three whole days before the generals could prevail on the Marshal to relent and forgive them their presumption in proposing a retreat to him. On the 25th of July Lacy was within a few miles of Kara-Su-Bazar, which was immediately abandoned.

### 3. THE RUSSIANS AGAIN QUIT THE CRIMEA.

It was, nevertheless, determined in a council of war that they had nothing further to undertake in the Crimea, and accordingly on the 27th they commenced their retreat out of it a second time. On the 2nd they repulsed a considerable body of Turks and Tartars, who had attacked them, and on the 4th of August they crossed the Tchongar with the whole army. In September Lacy had again returned to the Ukraine, Marshal Münnich's head-quarters being at Kiew.

### 4 THE TURKS BESIEGE OCKZAKOW.

One of the most considerable events in the course of the year, was the endeavour made by the Turks to recover Ockzakow. Although they had not been able to gain any advantage over the Russians during the whole campaign, they conceived better hopes when they found their enemy's army on the other side of the Dnieper. They commenced the siege on the 28th of October, but on the 10th of November they raised it again, having lost 20,000 men from cannon and sickness. The garrison, under the command of General Stoffeln, lost about 2000 men, and the general was handsomely rewarded for his defence of the place. Among those who signalized themselves by uncommon prowess in this siege of Ockzakow, was General Keith, afterwards the Prussian Field-Marshal, who was dangerously wounded on this occasion.

### 5. RUSSIAN AND TURKISH NAVAL ACTION IN THE SEA OF AZOPH.

On the 9th of August, the Russian fleet under Admiral Bredal had an affair with that of the Turks in the Sea of Azoph. The action came off in this manner :—Bredal having got abreast of the point of Kiskow (called also the spit of Beruteh) with his fleet, consisting of 100 sail, all double sloops or other small vessels (the large ships not having been able to get over the shoals at the mouth of the river

Don), perceived some Turkish vessels which were bearing down on the same point. Upon this he thought fit to get closer again in shore, and come to anchor in a convenient place. Towards two in the afternoon the whole Turkish fleet appeared in the offing. It consisted of two men-of-war, thirteen galleys, and forty-seven half galleys, and one of the ships carried the Capudan Pacha's flag. Bredal took all the measures necessary for a good defence. He made some of his vessels warp in yet closer to the land, and at the same time armed a battery on shore of fifteen guns, carrying from three to twelve pound balls. At five o'clock the cannonade began with equal briskness on both sides and lasted until eight, when the fire of the Turks slackened, and soon after they retired out of gunshot. The Russian ships suffered very little, almost all the Turkish shot having been fired high. At eight o'clock the next morning the Turks returned to the attack. The ship that carried the Pacha's flag was the one which ventured nearest to the Russian fleet, and kept up a hot fire upon it. But this was returned with good effect from the boats and batteries on shore, so that the Capudan Pacha's ship and some other of the Turkish vessels were much damaged. The Turkish fleet remained till noon on the 11th in sight of the Russians, and then weighed anchor. The Russians lost not more than thirty men in the engagement, but the enemy must have suffered severely. The Turks did not again return to the fight, but passed the Straits of Yenikale and got into Caffa.

#### 6. THE EMPEROR ENTERS INTO THE WAR AGAINST THE TURKS.

The Turks, alarmed at these successes of the Russians, applied to the Emperor to act as mediator in the quarrel; but every one thought that the Ottoman Empire was tottering to its fall, and people amused themselves with prophecies said to have been uttered 300 years before, that Russia should one day enter Constantinople, which it was thought was now about to be fulfilled. This raised the Emperor's ambition to share the spoil, and instead of being a mediator, he embraced the rash resolution of entering as a party into the quarrel. He accordingly drew his forces towards the frontiers of Turkey, and subsidized 8000 Saxons to be employed in the same quarter. The Duke of Lorraine was at first destined for the command of these troops, but he declined it, and preferred to serve as a volunteer under General Seckendorf, who enjoyed a high reputation at this period for military skill, and had even been marked out, by the recommendation of Prince Eugene, as the fittest person to succeed him in the command of the Imperial army.

#### 7. MILITARY CHARACTER OF MARSHAL STAHRMBERG.

It is supposed that this commander must have been now a very old man. Guido de Stahremberg was born about 1657, and held the rank of captain and adjutant to General Rüdiger at the siege of Vienna, in 1683. He had the rank of general, and was in command of the infantry of the Imperialists, at the battle of Luzzara, in 1702, under Prince Eugene. This volatile Prince appears to have here

played a practical joke upon the general, which he never forgave, and which gives an odd idea of the service at this period. At a grand dinner, given on occasion of the birthday of the Emperor to all the principal officers of the army, Eugene ordered a petard to be placed under the chair of Guido Stalremberg. At the moment of drinking the Emperor's health, amidst the flourish of trumpets and "fanfare" of the moment, the petard was exploded. Every one, supposing it to be a mine, ran from the table, except the general, who quietly emptied his glass and set it down again without remark or emotion, but he deemed it insulting to test his courage in such a way, and thought it done to make a butt of him to his comrades.

The following year he was in command of the Austrian troops in Italy, and having received positive orders to attempt a junction with the army of the Duke of Savoy (who had made himself obnoxious to the French by seceding from their alliance), he began his march from the banks of the Secchia in the Modenese, for Piedmont, through a country in the possession of the enemy. This march was deemed by military men to have been the best planned, and the best executed, of any in the whole war; and he effectually joined the Duke de Cavelli with his whole force. Appointed Marshal, he was selected, instead of Prince Eugene, to command the Imperial forces in Spain, and he joined King Charles at Barcelona in April, 1708; he remained in this command till the end of the war of the succession. He was considered at this time to have shown himself the best man of his age for defensive war. He is not again heard of in command, but he was alive in 1734, when Prince Eugene mentions him in his memoirs as one to whom he desired to do justice for having always shown the greatest talents and remarkable bravery; but it would appear that the offence of the petard had not even then been forgotten, for the two old soldiers were, evidently, not friends, for he is spoken of as "brouillé avec Prince Eugene." The Prince says he supposes they might now love each other if they met, for that old generals, enemies to one another, are like women of a certain age, "*qui ne s'en veulent pas, parcequ'elles n'ont plus de sexe.*" If this good old soldier was still alive at this period, his advice might have saved his Imperial master from the disgrace and confusion of this foolish war. But he was considered *passé*. The histories of this period called him "*orgueilleux,*" "*dévo*t," and "*sans crédit dans le conseil,*" "ill calculated, from his age, natural timidity, and indifference, from having any influence with the councillors of the Emperor."

#### 8. MARSHAL SECKENDORF IN COMMAND OF THE AUSTRIANS.

Seckendorf on receiving the appointment repaired to Hungary, where he found the army and the fortifications in a deplorable state. He reported the frontier fortresses of Gradiska, Buda, Sabacz, and even Belgrade, as incapable of the smallest resistance, both from the dilapidated state of the fortifications, and from a total want of artillery, ammunition, and other military requisites. He boldly reported to the Emperor that many of the generals were incapable of fulfilling the

duties of their station, and instead of inspecting the provinces under their command, were employed in hunting and other diversions. The Emperor attended to many improvements suggested by Seckendorf, who greatly ameliorated the state of the army; while the fortifications were put under the superintendence of General Schmettan.

The plan of the campaign was judiciously formed by Seckendorf. He proposed that the Russians, after taking Bender, should direct their course along the Danube towards the Pruth, and that the Imperialists should commence their operations by the siege of Widdin. A party in the cabinet wished to commence hostilities by the siege of Nissa, but Seckendorf prevailed. He was nominated Field-Marshal, and received assurances that he should have an army of 126,000 men provided with every requisite; but by the most arduous exertions he could only get together, towards the end of July, some 70,000 men of all arms, the greater part of whom were raw troops in a state of sickness, misery, and dejection. With this comparatively small and inefficient force the Field-Marshal had to encounter a much more formidable and numerous army than he had reason to expect;—veterans inured to the service in the Persian wars, and brought into discipline by the celebrated French Count Bonneval, who at this time principally directed the operations of the campaign for the Turks.

In the midst of Seckendorf's preparations to commence the investing of Widdin, he was thunderstruck by receiving an order under the Emperor's own hand to march against Nissa. This injudicious change frustrated the whole plan of operations. The magazines had been already formed on the banks of the Danube, but now they were obliged to be removed fifty leagues from the river across a marshy and mountainous country, without carriages to convey their provisions, and without any means of supplying their wants. After a march of twenty-eight days the army arrived before the walls of Nissa, and fortunately meeting with no resistance, obtained possession of the place on the 28th of July. Seckendorf instantly despatched a strong corps to invest Widdin on the south under Khevenhüller, whilst Marshal Wallis occupied the opposite bank of the river. He remained himself at Nissa to await orders from Vienna, sending detachments to reduce the petty fortresses and seize the passes of the surrounding mountains. During this period the disunion among the generals and the discontent of the army rose to a formidable pitch. Seckendorf was rough, overbearing, and parsimonious, and the troops, shut up in an unwholesome position and deprived of their customary supplies of provisions, attributed their misery to his incapacity and avarice. The Duke of Lorraine, though only a volunteer, interfered in all military operations, and supported the opposition against the Field Marshal.

While Seckendorf was thus perplexed with the cabals of his generals and the clamour of the army, unable to pursue his success for want of provisions, and waiting for further orders from Vienna, the Prince of Hildburghausen was compelled to raise the siege of Baguluka in Russia, and was driven back towards the Save. Count

Khevenhüller was obliged to retreat from Servia, and Nissa was retaken by the Ottomans. The Emperor, accordingly, alarmed for his hereditary dominions, ordered Seckendorf to suspend operations against Widdin, and march to effect a junction with Hildburghausen.

#### 9. THE IMPERIALISTS ARE WORSTED. SECKENDORF DISGRACED.

In pursuance of these orders, the Field-Marshal wholly relinquished the plan for the campaign. He made himself master of Usitza after a short though vigorous siege; but was prevented by the inundations of the Drina from besieging the citadel. Being thus frustrated in his attempt to penetrate Bosnia, he retreated rapidly towards the Save, and encamped at Sabacz, on the bank of that river.

Khevenhüller found Widdin in a better state of defence, and occupied by a larger force than he expected; he therefore remained inactive till the retreat of Seckendorf obliged him to abandon Widdin and endeavour to enter Transylvania. After a severe action near the confluence of the Timok and Danube, he made good his retreat towards Orsova, and effected his passage of the Danube near Gladova, where he was joined by the corps of Marshal Wallis, and took up his winter-quarters in the Empire.

Thus terminated this unfortunate campaign. The change of the plan of operations altogether prevented Marshal Münnich from advancing to the Danube, and ruined its result; nevertheless, the failure of it was wholly attributed to Marshal Seckendorf, who was deprived of his command, and articles of impeachment were brought against him; but he defended himself with great spirit and ability, and refuted the charges, though he was not able to reveal the secret orders he had received, in his justification. Generals Schmiettau and Demar, in whom he had principally confided, were involved in his disgrace, and General Doxat, the commandant of Nissa, was beheaded for surrendering that town to the Turks, though it was unprovided with the proper means of defence.

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### 1738.

1. THE WAR IN THE UKRAINE.—2. LACY AGAIN INVADES THE CRIMEA.—
3. WAR BETWEEN THE EMPEROR AND THE TURKS. KÖNIGSEGG DISGRACED. DEATH OF RAKOCZI.—4. DISPUTE BETWEEN DENMARK AND HANOVER.

#### 1. THE WAR IN THE UKRAINE.

In the month of February the Khan of Tartary, at the head of 40,000 men, attempted to force the lines of the Ukraine, but was repulsed with great loss. On the 1st of May Marshal Münnich assembled his whole army, consisting of about 55,000 men. On the 11th of July he was attacked by the Turks at the confluence of the rivers Bug and Lodinia; at eight o'clock the advanced guard of the

right wing was attacked, but successfully defended by Lieutenant-General Segraiski. The greatest efforts of the enemy were made however in the centre charge. Brigadier Schipow was attacked on all sides, and must have been surrounded but for the timely arrival of the Marshal with Generals Löwendahl and Biron, when the enemy were repulsed with no great loss on either side. After the action of Lodinia, the Russian army continued to march quietly towards the frontier of Poland. During the month of August the two armies remained in presence. Münnich was continually threatening the passage of the Dniester, but always found a Turkish army opposed to him. A foraging party at this time was attacked and cut to pieces by the Tartars. The officer who commanded was tried by a council of war, condemned, and executed, and the general, Segraiski, was degraded and reduced to the rank of a private dragoon. The army finally crossed the Dniester in September; but towards the end of the month, it re-entered the Ukraine, and went into winter-quarters.

## 2. LACY AGAIN INVADES THE CRIMEA.

Marshal Lacy, this year, with an army of 35 000 men, again invaded the Crimea. The Khan, with 40,000, opposed him at the lines of Perekop; but at this season (July) the Sea of Asoph is in a great measure dried up, and Lacy entered by the side of the shore, almost dryshod, and without the loss of a man. On the 8th of July he laid siege to Perekop, which continued till the 10th, when the lines capitulated. The Marshal's instructions were to advance to Caffa, but, as before, the country was already so impracticable that he could not find subsistence for his army, and Admiral Bredal's fleet had been driven off the coast by a storm; accordingly he marched back to Perekop, blew up and levelled all the works, and went again into winter-quarters in the Ukraine.

## 3. WAR BETWEEN THE EMPEROR AND THE TURKS. KÖNIGSEGG DISGRACED. DEATH OF RAKOCZI.

The Turks taking the field early, reduced the fort of Usitza, which secured possession of part of Servia, and Mehadia, which commanded the passes on the north of the Danube. They now undertook the siege of Orsova, which however they abandoned at the approach of the Imperial army, commanded by the Grand Duke of Tuscany, assisted by Count Königsegg. The character and talents of this celebrated leader were not well calculated to supply the want of experience, steadiness, and military skill, of the Duke of Lorraine. The Count was of an excellent capacity in the field, but greatly deficient in activity; so much so, that one of his greatest admirers remarked of him, that he wanted but one additional grain of salt in his composition to be one of the greatest of men. The Turks, being reinforced, marched and attacked the Imperialists, by whom they were repulsed after an obstinate engagement; the Germans now recovered Mehadia, but had scarcely reached the neighbourhood of Orsova when they were surprised and again attacked by the Grand Vizier. The Imperialists made good



their retreat, and the Turks resumed the siege of Orsova, of which they made themselves masters, and where they found a fine train of artillery designed for the siege of Widdin. By the conquest of this place the Turks laid the Danube open to their galleys and vessels, and the Germans were forced to retire under the cannon of Belgrade. The disasters of this campaign excited no less intrigue and clamour at Vienna than the preceding one, and both the Duke of Lorraine and Königsegg were removed from the command and disgraced.

The Emperor was violently agitated at the want of success in his armies for two successive years, and in the agony of his mind exclaimed, "Is the fortune of my house departed with Eugene!" He listened to all the petty stories of military discontent which invariably follow an unsuccessful campaign. Wallis conciliated his master's good will by his stories against the Emperor's son-in-law. Amongst other things he had the hardihood to say, "If ever I am found serving under such a fellow, let me pass for a most contemptible wretch." As an example of his insolence he said to the Duke himself, "Eh bien, prenez pour une fois le conseil d'un fou, sans quoi, vous perdrez votre cannon, votre honneur, et peut-être Orsova même."

Königsegg suffered from the protection afforded him by his Highness, so that as he found no protection from any one else, both fell together.

Joseph Rakoczi, son of the famous Hungarian chieftain mentioned above, who had died in 1735, was at this time closely allied with the Sultan, who invited him to Constantinople, and recognized his title of Waiwode or Prince of Transylvania. It was hoped that his influence among his countrymen might induce them to rise against Austria and join the Turks in the present war. Rakoczi accordingly issued some stirring addresses, which were widely circulated among the border Hungarians, calling upon them to take up arms—but to no effect: his name and influence were no longer powerful. Still, no ill consequences followed to him from a proclamation of the Imperial court, setting a price upon his head; and he died peacefully, in the Turkish dominions, on the 9th of November in this year.

#### 4. DISPUTE BETWEEN DENMARK AND HANOVER.

In the month of October an affair of very small importance produced a rupture between the Kings of Denmark and Great Britain. A detachment of Hanoverians took by assau't the Castle of Steinhorst, defended by the Danish dragoons, who had received orders to repel force by force. Several men had been killed on both sides before the Hanoverians could enter the place, when the garrison was disarmed and conducted to the frontiers. This dispute was, however, compromised by a convention between the two Sovereigns.

1739.

1. THE IMPERIAL ARMY PLACED UNDER THE COMMAND OF COUNT WALLIS.—2. THE BATTLE OF CROTSKA.—3. THE TURKS INVEST BELGRADE.—4. THE EMPEROR AND SULTAN CONCLUDE A PEACE.—5. WAR BETWEEN THE RUSSIANS AND TURKS.—6. BATTLE OF CHOCZIM.—7. RUSSIA AND THE PORTE MAKE PEACE.—8. NADIR SHAH IN INDIA. BATTLE OF KARNAL.—9. MILITARY POWER OF THE NATIONS OF EUROPE.—10. CONVENTION OF THE PAIDU BETWEEN GREAT BRITAIN AND SPAIN.

# 1. THE IMPERIAL ARMY PLACED UNDER THE COMMAND OF COUNT WALLIS.

This year, the events of the war were still unfavourable to the Emperor. He had bestowed the command of his army upon Count Wallis, who assembled his forces in the neighbourhood of Belgrade. They consisted of sixty seven battalions and 113 squadrons, or 56,250 men, besides artillery and hussars. On the 11th of June the army encamped near Semlin, and being joined by the auxiliaries, and the flotilla of the Danube being ready, they crossed the Save on the 27th, and at the close of the same evening advanced towards Crotska, where his hussars were attacked by the Turks with such impetuosity and perseverance that they were obliged to give ground. Wallis, however, put himself at the head of some cuirassiers, and bravely withstood the enemy till the grenadiers had cleared the defile and driven the Turks out of the vineyards.

## 2. THE BATTLE OF CROTSKA.

The Grand Vizier with his whole force had taken post on two hills between the defile and the village of Crotska. The Prince of Hildburghausen formed the first battalion that cleared the defile into square, whilst the left wing passed along a narrow path and extended itself on the heights overlooking the Danube. In this position the Imperialists withstood repeated attacks from the Turks, who assailed them with far superior numbers from five in the morning till sunset, when Wallis ordered a retreat under cover of the approaching darkness. The Imperialists were hampered by the defile in which the Grand Vizier had caught them. On their side four generals were killed and five wounded; and 7000 men, with 400 officers, were left dead on the field of battle. In this desperate conflict both parties sustained considerable loss, but the Turks displayed new skill in the art of war. Instead of tumultuous and unconnected attacks, they fought in the greatest order and in regular bodies; and when broken, they rallied with speed and activity. This was due in a great measure to the admirable discipline they had received from Count Bonneval, a French military adventurer, who, after having served in the navy and army of France with distinction, took afterwards an Austrian commission, and subsequently became a Mussulman under the appellation of Achmet Pacha. He was meditating a return to

Christendom when he was surprised by death eight years later than the present events. His memoirs are amusing and curious, as showing the rewards attendant upon those who adopt service among Orientals.

The Imperial flotilla under Admiral Pallavicini fell down the Danube to co-operate with the army, so that when Wallis retreated the admiral found himself exposed to severe handling from the Turkish batteries, and only regained Belgrade on the 24th in a most dilapidated condition. The Imperialists took up so strong a position at Kinza, and placed their artillery with so much skill, that on the following day they repulsed a considerable body of troops headed by the Grand Vizier. Wallis, however, seized with despondency, again retreated during the night, and occupied the lines of Belgrade; when, being still alarmed at the appearance of some Turkish irregulars, and deeming himself unequal to the defence of this strong position, he recrossed the Danube the following night. The Turks now instantly advanced against Belgrade, and the Grand Vizier investing the place on the side of Servia, commenced the siege in form. He summoned the garrison to surrender on the 29th of July. The Earl of Crawford, who served as a volunteer in the Imperial army, signalized his courage in an extraordinary manner on these occasions, and was dangerously wounded.

### 3. THE TURKS INVEST BELGRADE.

Wallis, under a still unaccountable infatuation, would not even continue in the vicinity of Belgrade to harass the besieging army, or to succour the garrison, but wearied his troops by useless and circuitous marches; and the Turks, availing themselves of his absence, occupied the northern branch of the Danube, and carried on their approaches against the redoubt of the Borzia, which commanded the fortress on that side. They even prepared to cross the Save, that they might attack Belgrade on that side also. In the midst of his despondency Marshal Wallis was still further alarmed by a report from General Succow, commandant of the place, that a breach had been made in one of the bastions and an assault hourly expected, which the garrison, diminished and enervated by sickness, would be unable to resist. Wallis sent an officer to examine the state of the fortifications; but without waiting for his return, he sent Colonel Gross to the camp of the Grand Vizier to purchase a peace by the cession of Belgrade. He sent word to the Emperor that the fortress was untenable, and should it fall, he could not with a diminished and dispirited army withstand the superior force of the enemy, nor prevent them advancing on the capital. He also sent a resolution, subscribed by the other generals, stating the necessity of a retreat to Peterwaradin.

### 4. THE EMPEROR AND SULTAN CONCLUDE A PEACE.

The defeat at Crotzka, the flight of the Imperial army, and the desponding accounts transmitted by Wallis, spread consternation

among the people and at the court of Vienna. The Emperor alone seemed to maintain a degree of firmness. He had been induced by the representations of Wallis, and the urgent remonstrances of the court, to entrust him with full powers to offer the cession of Belgrade in case of extreme necessity. He now ordered that Wallis should direct his attention solely to military transactions, and gave full powers for concluding a peace to Count Neipperg. At the same time he sent General Schmettau to inspect the situation of the army, and to prevent the intended retreat to Peterwaradin and the cession of Belgrade. On delivering these orders to the general in person, the Emperor graciously pressed his hand, and said, "Use thy utmost diligence to arrive before Wallis can retreat with my army. Assume the defence of Belgrade, and save it, if not too late, from falling into the hands of the enemy." Schmettau fulfilled the wishes of his Sovereign, and reached the Imperial camp at the moment the troops were preparing to retreat. He undeceived Wallis with regard to Belgrade, the fortifications of which were without a breach, and defended by a garrison of 13,000 effective men; and he prevailed on him to advance with the whole army, and employ his utmost exertions for the relief of the place. Schmettau then hastened to Belgrade. He assumed the command, drove the Turks from before the redoubt of Borzia, and by his exertions animated the garrison, and compelled the besiegers to abandon their most advanced works. Encouraged by the example, Wallis recovered his spirits and visited Belgrade; and he now prepared to bring his whole force into the fortress. The entire army was actuated by the same spirit, and eager to repair the disgrace of the past by new exertions.

But Count Neipperg, who had gone to the Turkish camp with full powers to negotiate a peace, had imprudently trusted himself within the enemy's lines without requiring hostages, which was still a custom in dealing with the Turks; so that when he arrived there, he was exposed to the most unexampled indignities. He was immediately arrested, treated as a spy, and threatened to be sent to Constantinople to be punished. The French ambassador, the Marquis de Villeneuve, at length arrived, and obtained permission for his release, but affecting to be alarmed with apprehensions of an approaching mutiny in the Turkish camp, he persuaded Neipperg to sign the preliminaries of peace, which he did on the 1st of September, under the mediation and guarantee of France. The principal conditions were the restitution of Belgrade and Sabacz after the demolition of the new fortifications, the cession of Servia and of all the districts yielded by the Turks at the Peace of Passarowitz. The Porte was also to retain the fortress of Orsova, and the Emperor agreed to demolish Mehadia.

Both Schmettau and Wallis, at first, refused to give up one of the gates of Belgrade, which was named as the security of the preliminaries, but they could not venture to evade the positive orders of the Emperor to obey the plenipotentiary, and, accordingly, on the 4th of September, it was yielded to the Pacha of Roumelia, when the Imperialists had the mortification of seeing the Turkish troops march

into the town, carrying with them the standards captured at the battle of Crotzka.

The Emperor was deeply affected with the conclusion of peace, and it was received as dishonourable by all ranks of the people. Charles also felt the embarrassment of having to extenuate his conduct to the Czarina, to whom he wrote, that "he was less touched with the advantages gained by the enemy, than with the conduct of his plenipotentiary, whom he declared to have acted against his consent, and in disobedience to his direct orders."

##### 5. WAR BETWEEN THE RUSSIANS AND TURKS.

The Russians had opened the campaign on the side of Poland, with an army, under Count Münnich, of 60,000 or 65,000 men. The Turkish force of 60,000 men, commanded by the Seraskier, determined to dispute with the Russians the passage of the Bogh. The latter arrived on that river on the 10th of July, and in order to put the enemy on a wrong scent, or to engage them in fruitless marches, or detain them before Bender, they sent numerous detachments of Cossacks on the side of Soroka, with orders to give out by the way, that a part of the army would follow them in a few days. This had the desired effect, and the Seraskier stopped with the main body of his force in the vicinity of Bender. The Russian army continued their march towards the Dniester, as if their design had been to force a passage across the Sarutsch, near Choczim; but the Marshal's purpose was to pass the former river; and, accordingly, he put himself at the head of 20,000 men, and advanced rapidly to the banks of the Dniester at Sukowza, a small Polish village on that river, near which he passed over the whole of this body on the 30th of July. The heavy rains, however, carried away his bridges, which induced him to intrench his camp with some redoubts. Here he was attacked, on the 3rd of August, by the Sultan Ghirai, with 12,000 Tartars, and Vely Pacha, with 6000 janizaries; but they were repulsed twice. In the mean time, the bridges were repaired, and his whole army, with artillery and stores, crossed the river on the 11th of August. On the 10th the Seraskier had arrived from Bender, at the head of his forces. On the 16th Münnich broke up from his camp, and on the following day passed the small river Waletzka, and entered the mountains by the defiles of Tschernentza, where John Sobieski had fought some battles with the Tartars. He had learned from deserters that the Turks had abandoned the most important part of this pass, where 10,000 men might have stopped 100,000. The Marshal, therefore, sent forward a strong detachment to seize the pass, and on the 18th he and his army passed the defile and descended, without any opposition, into the plains. They marched through the pass easily, except the covering party, which, with the artillery and baggage, were delayed until the 26th of August. The enemy only showed themselves in small bodies, and exchanged shots with the Cossacks. On the 19th the Sultan and Pacha, with their united forces, drew near, but losing a great number of men from the fire of the Russian artillery, they retreated

again into their camp, which was separated from that of the Russians only by the small river Houka. On the 20th Münnich, leaving his artillery and baggage behind him to follow as fast as they could, pushed forward, and the enemy retreating, he took, without opposition, the camp which they had occupied the day before ; while the Turks established themselves in another, three or four leagues distant, to which they withdrew. There was skirmishing, on the 21st, on both sides ; and on the 23rd and 24th the enemy, becoming bolder, threw out posts on both sides of the Russians, so that they could not quit their camp in safety, and a general, who did not apprehend the danger, was taken prisoner. On the 26th Marshal Münnich, being joined by all his forces, determined to free himself from this embarrassment and march against the Turks, who occupied a very advantageous position, in which they were intrenched. On the 27th the Russians were within cannon-shot of the Turkish camp, when they found themselves entirely surrounded by the enemy, who swarmed upon them and made repeated attacks day and night ; and the Ottoman generals thought Münnich to be so much in their toils that they applauded the opening they had given him to come through the pass, and imagined he was now without any means of escaping from them.

#### 6. THE BATTLE OF CHOCZIM.

At break of day on the 28th of August, the whole Russian camp was under arms. Generals Lowendahl and Gustavus Biron advanced within half cannon-shot of the intrenched camp, as if their intention had been to attack that quarter ; the object, however, was only to draw away the whole attention of the Turks on that side, and to hinder them from perfecting their lines on the left, which they had only just commenced. This had the desired effect, for they immediately began to erect two new batteries on their right, and to work at a new line. In the mean while the Marshal reconnoitred the enemy's camp, and found that the river Schulametz, which, on account of the marshes on either side, had been considered impassable, was far from being so ; and that by means of fascines both the marshes and the river, which was not deep, could be rendered fordable, so that the enemy's position might be turned on that side, which, from a false security, he had left entirely unguarded.

At noon the Marshal ordered the whole force to take ground to the right, and recalled his detachments. Several bridges were thrown over the river, and by means of the fascines and some thick planks a causeway was established so that the army was enabled to cross over the Schulametz under the cover of an admirably well-served artillery, and without much opposition from the enemy. At two in the afternoon the Russians had arrived at the foot of the hill which was crowned by the Turkish camp. The enemy's cavalry now fell upon the advancing troops on all sides, but were repulsed without obtaining the least advantage, while the Russians continued to gain ground and approached nearer and nearer to the enemy's lines. At five in the afternoon the Turks returned to the attack with more

fury than ever. The janizaries advanced sword in hand, and resolutely charged the infantry ; but such a terrible fire was kept playing on them from the cannon and musketry, that they could do nothing. After having exhausted every possible effort to break the Russian ranks, they were obliged to retreat in great confusion. They still, however, strove to make some resistance ; but the Russians kept on advancing, under fire of their artillery, little by little. The Turks now set fire to their camp, so that when the Russians carried the height at seven in the evening, and entered it, they found it deserted ; the Mussulmen fled with such precipitation that the Russian light cavalry could scarcely overtake the enemy, and they left behind them forty-two pieces of brass cannon and six mortars, besides tools, ammunitions of war, and provisions. Their loss must have been considerable ; but on the side of the Russians there were not more than seventy men killed and wounded. This action was fought near a small village, which was on the right of the army, called Stavut-schane.

To take advantage of this victory, Münnich advanced on Choczim, the following morning, at the head of 30,000 men, with a battering train. General Romanzow was left behind to cover the baggage and stores, for the Russian army had been obliged to fight this battle with all these encumbrances within their squares. Early in the morning of the 30th of August the Marshal sent forward a strong detachment to observe the posture of the enemy, and found that the suburbs of the city, which were surrounded by a wide ditch, were abandoned, and that Kalschak Pacha, the governor within the place, had only arrived at his command on the very evening of the battle. He therefore rightly judged that there would be no great confidence between him and his garrison, and he accordingly forthwith summoned it. At two o'clock the same afternoon the fortress of Choczim, in which were 200 pieces of artillery, was surrendered into his hands.

#### 7. RUSSIA AND THE PORTE MAKE PEACE.

This victory and its results had their effect upon the Turkish diplomatists, and Russia found herself so isolated by the defection of the Emperor, that all parties were disposed to accept the mediation of France. M. de Cagnoni was sent to Vienna, and Russia acceded to the treaty of Belgrade in October. The Czarina obtained, by the peace of Belgrade, an increase to the empire on the side of the Ukraine, and the demolition of the cities of Azoph and Taganrog. These conditions she was not at first inclined to ratify, for Nadir Shah had again offered to lend her his assistance to annihilate the Turks, as he had already destroyed the feeble successors of Tamerlane ; but having had sufficient experience of the perfidy of Orientals, she declined his offers ; and being now advanced in age, declining in health, and too much embarrassed with domestic cares to carry on the war, she at length put her name to conditions, which were not, in truth, in a fair proportion to the success which had attended her arms.

It was the month of November before the Russian troops repassed the Dniester. This river was already bringing down great pieces of ice, and there was no possibility of refitting the bridges that had been broken by the floating masses ; so that these occasioned great difficulties in passing the troops, and yet more in getting the stores and artillery across. But as the bottom of the river was firm, Löwendahl caused the guns and carriages to be drawn under the ice by means of strong ropes, long enough to reach from one side of the river to the other, in which way the cannon were hauled over by capstans.

#### 8. NADIR SHAH IN INDIA. BATTLE OF KARNAL.

Kouli-Khan, having secured the Persian throne, now appears in history as Nadir Shah. Soon after he was crowned, he resolved to overthrow the neighbouring empire of the Affghans, and, accordingly, had set out to invade that power in December, 1737. After a long siege Kandahar surrendered to him, and the Affghans submitted to his rule. While thus engaged, he received an invitation from some officers in the court of Mohammad Shah, the great Mogul, to advance and take possession of the Mogul empire. The murder of an envoy furnished him with a pretext for hostilities against the Sovereign of Delhi. In May, 1738, he accordingly commenced his march for the frontiers of India, at the head of 120,000 men. Having taken the places that lay in his route, he found himself before Cabul, which he took by storm. He levelled Jellalabad with the earth, and burst into Lahore before the Mogul army had scarcely time to be collected. Still advancing, he suddenly came upon the unsuspecting forces of the Emperor, who occupied an intrenched camp at Karnal, or Caernal, on the left bank of the Jumna, about eighty miles to the westward of Delhi. Here the Shah and the Mogul measured their swords on the 8th of March, 1739. On the part of the latter it was a confused and irregular fight, but the Persians, accustomed to a t together, and not more obedient than brave, charged in close array with efficient support, and, of course, gained the victory. The Vizier was mortally wounded, and countless numbers of lesser note were slain in the battle. The spirit of the whole Indian nation was now effectually broken, and the idea of further resistance laid aside. Nadir accordingly advanced to the capital, the gates of which were thrown open to receive him. Here he found immense treasure, the accumulated wealth of nearly two centuries. The amount of money, jewels, costly effects, and heavy contributions upon all ranks and classes of men, found or raised, has been estimated at thirty-two millions sterling. Amongst the trophies were the throne representing the tail of a peacock, composed of precious stones, and the two famous diamonds, the Koh-i-noor, or Mountain of Light, and another called the Sea of Light. Among a people with whom avarice is so strong a passion, every attempt was made to conceal wealth : torture was therefore used to enforce discovery, and in the violence and resistance a tumult ensued, in which some persons were killed. The insatiate and ruthless Shah gave immediate orders for an indiscriminate



as ault, without regard to sex or age, in every street or avenue in which was found the body of a slaughtered Persian, and 8000 persons are reported to have been sacrificed in this dreadful massacre.

Nadir Shah did not, however, exercise the power of which he was now certainly possessed to dethrone Mohammad, and put an end to the Mogul sovereignty: on the contrary, with his own hands he replaced the crown on the head of the Emperor, affirming, as his reason for it, his regard for the illustrious house of Timour, to which this maker of sheep-skin caps declared "We ourselves belong; and on the 6th of May he was pleased, after exercising the rights of a conqueror for thirty-seven days, to march back his army to Ispahan, having only required from Mohammad to resign his rights over all the provinces west of the Indus.

A fatal blow was, nevertheless, at this time struck at the grandeur of the great Mogul, from which it has never recovered. Already, soon after the death of Aurungzebe, the Deccan had been severed from the imperial rule and placed under a powerful chief, who called himself Nizam-ool-Moolk, or the regulator of the state, and who, in this capacity, governed ten millions of subjects. Another powerful chief established himself at Oude, as Soubahdar, with six millions of subjects. The sovereignty of Bengal became independent under Aliverdy Khan. About the same time, the Rohillas, a tribe from the mountains which lie between India and Persia, erected an independent state on the east of the Ganges, within eighty miles of Delhi. The Sikhs, a set of semi-religious, semi-political adventurers, profited by the weakness of the Mogul to establish themselves in independence, and Mooltan and Lahore were formally separated from the empire. The most considerable of all the Hindoo powers, the Mahrattas, were not unmindful of this opportunity to obtain power, territory, and influence. The powerful kingdom of the Peishwah was then formed, with its capital at Poonah; and subsequently Scindiah, Holkar, and the Guicowar asserted their independence. The Mahrattas were a singular, wild, and warlike people, who said of themselves that their Prince's throne is the horse's back, their sword their sceptre, and their empire all that they could conquer. All these various states now form a part of the British Indian empire, and will in the course of these Annals pass in battle array in the military history of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

## 9. MILITARY POWER OF THE NATIONS OF EUROPE.

Russia was at this period advancing on every side, and already occupied a great place in the balance of power in Europe. The Scandinavian nations were gradually declining before her on the one side, the Turks on the other; whilst Sweden and Denmark, and even the United Provinces, were continually diminishing their naval resources, and with that, the ability to check the increase of the power of Russia. The military strength of the great nations of Europe

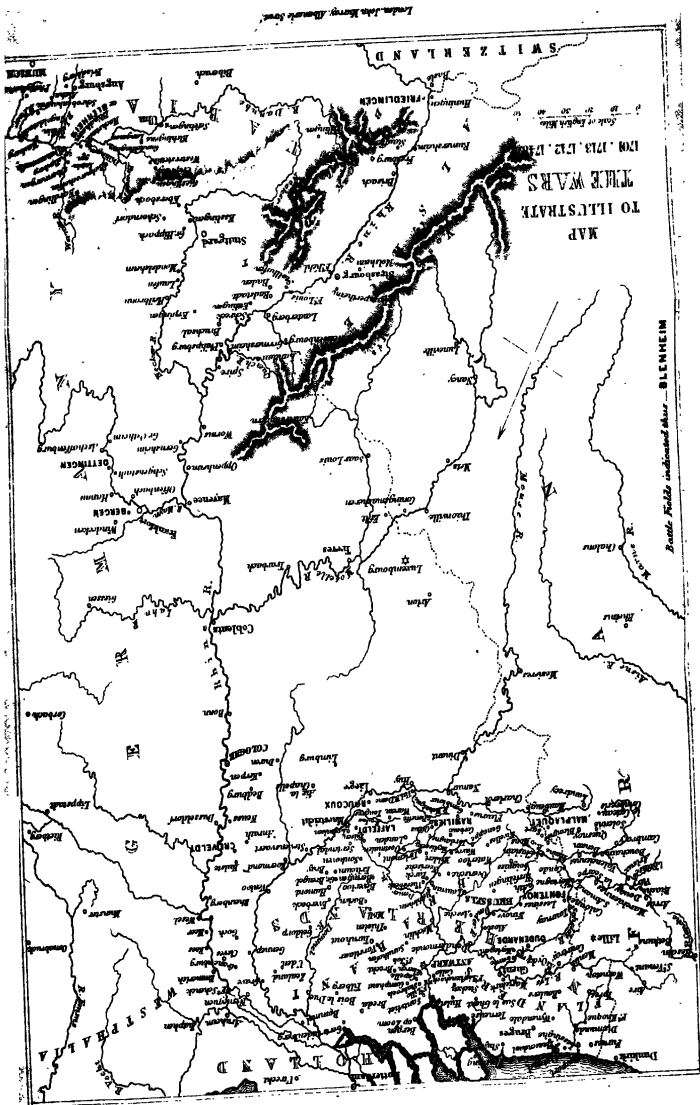
at this period is thus given by Lacretelle in his history of France :—

France.....	160,000	in her army, and	80	vessels of war.
Spain.....	60,000	"	50	"
Holland.....	30,000	"	40	"
Austria.....	100,000	"		no marine.
Great Britain ..	30,000	"	130	ships of war.
Russia.....	170,000	"	50	"

#### 10. CONVENTION OF THE PARDO BETWEEN GREAT BRITAIN AND SPAIN.

Ever since the treaty of Seville, the Spaniards in America had by turns insulted and distressed the commerce of Great Britain. The captains of the Spanish armed vessels, known by the name of *Guarda-Costas*, had made a constant practice of boarding and plundering British ships, on pretence of searching for contraband commodities. A great number of British vessels had in this way been seized and detained, their crews imprisoned, and their cargoes confiscated, in violation of treaties, in defiance of justice, and in disparagement of the national dignity. The merchants of England loudly complained of these outrages. The national resentment was fired, and cried for reparation and vengeance ; but the minister, Walpole, bound by the chain of a pacific policy, was cold, phlegmatic, and timorous. He was ready to submit to any thing to avoid war. He was contented to be satisfied with evasive answers to his feeble remonstrances, and with vague promises from the court of Spain, of inquiry and redress. Cardinal Fleury, the minister of France, affected an equally pacific policy, and by his mediation a convention was concluded, on the 14th of January, between Great Britain and Spain. By this famous convention, known by the name of the Convention of the Pardo, Catholic Majesty was to pay to the King of Great Britain 95,000*l.* within four months, in reparation of these injuries,—a condition sufficiently humiliating to Spain. But although the treaty was announced to Parliament in the speech from the throne, a storm arose about it, which swamped the impending peace, and drove Sir Robert Walpole from the helm of affairs. Circumstances afterwards arose in Europe which brought on a general war, that devastated almost every nation on the Continent, and continued for eight or nine years.

END OF VOL. I.

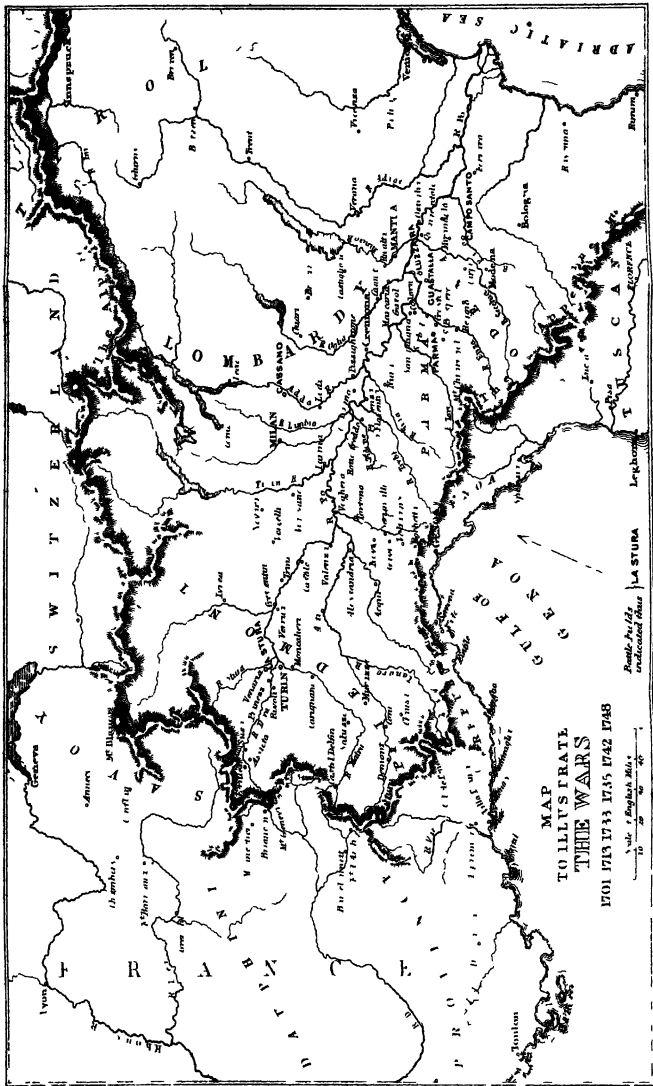


Scale of English Miles 0 10 20 30 40

# MAP TO ILLUSTRATE THE WARS 1793-1795

London, John Murray, Albemarle Street





London John Murray Albemarle Street



MAP  
TO ILLUSTRATE  
THE WARS  
1704 1756

Double Fields indicated thus: LUZZANA

Scale of English Miles  
0 10 20 30

